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ECHOSLOVAKIA AND AFTER

NATIONAL REVIEW

A proposal for dealing with the mounting threat of a nuclear-armed China

ROBERT M. LAWRENCE

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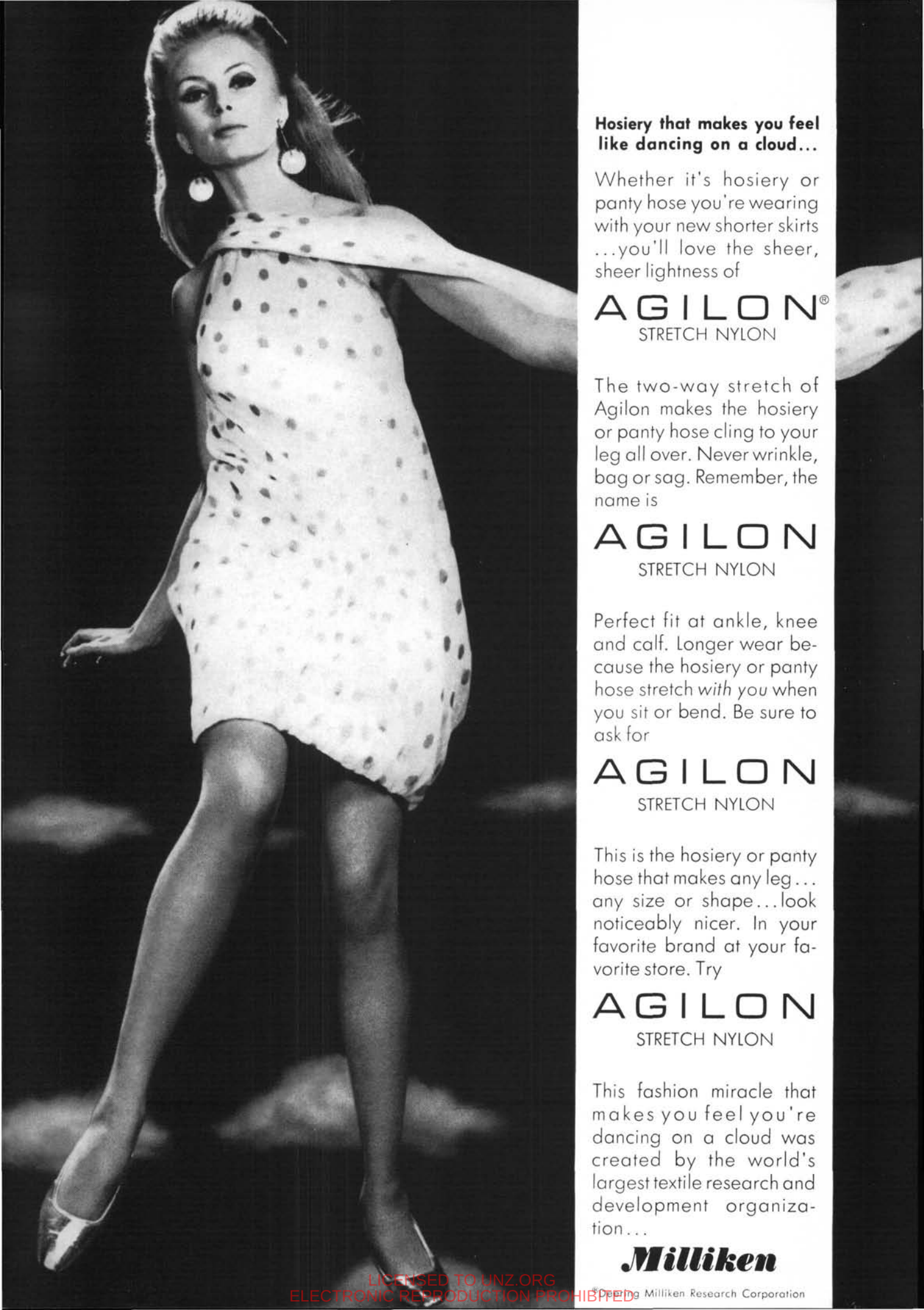

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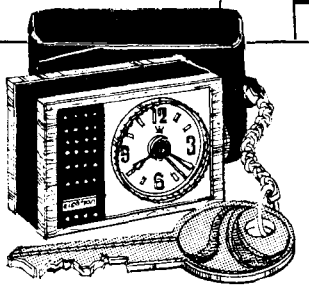

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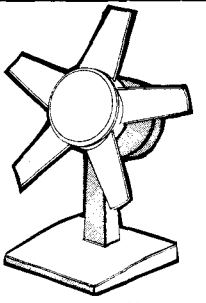

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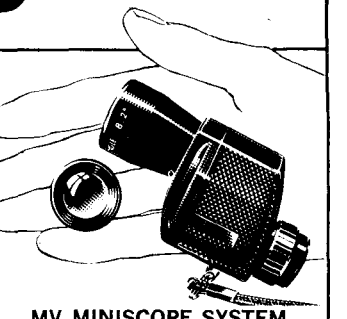

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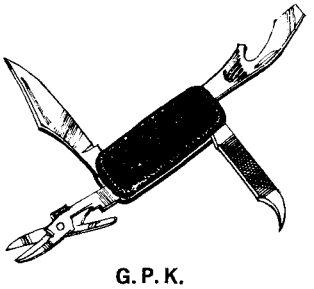

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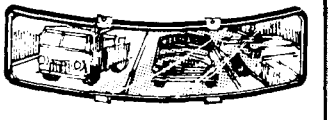

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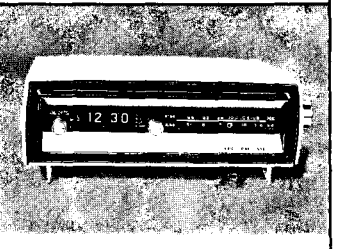

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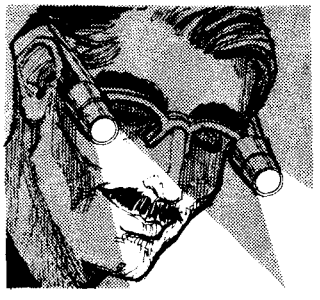

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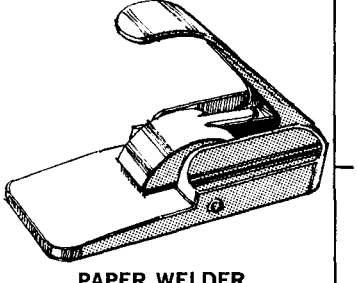

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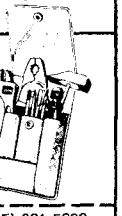

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SEPTEMBER 10, 1968

NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XX NO. 36

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 45 Gracey St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.) © National Review, Inc. 1968.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., *National Review*, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

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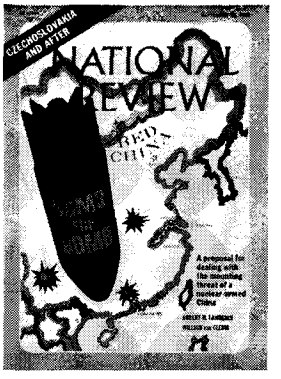
IN THIS ISSUE

We think the unthinkable, namely, what would it mean—to , to Communist China, to the world at large—if we were to stroy China's nuclear weapons capacity? This, the great nexamined Option, is heavily and responsibly weighed for the st time (we believe) within public hearing by **Robert M. awrence** and **William R. Van Cleave.** Mr. Lawrence is Asso-ate Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona d a former member of the Strategic Studies Center, Stanford esearch Institute. Mr. Van Cleave is Assistant Professor of ternational Relations and director of a National Security udies Program at the University of Southern California. Not-thstanding the authors' credentials, and the manifest asonability of their approach, a number of neral and academic journals turned down Assertive Disarmament," finding it too con-oversial, too provocative, and well, just too thinkable. And so we publish it here, in e interests of open and informed debate, d as a challenge to Ostrichland, U.S.A. . . . **ill Herberg** continues another, wide-open bate (see also Letters) on Paul VI's birth ntrol encyclical. Remember when artificial ntraception was unthinkable? . . . The re-rgence of Scottish nationalism gets a joyous ost from **Colm Brogan** (b., educ. Glasgow). . **Victor Gold** is a Washington (D.C.) public relations man d a great kidder.



And now, Czechoslovakia. Commentary in The Third World ar, On the Right, and The Week.

Chief Justice nominee Abe Fortas has written a fine book civil disobedience, which is commended by the eminent olar and political scientist **Harry V. Jaffa.** But then there the question of Mr. Fortas' nomination; see The Week. . . . **vid Haddon** left Berkeley with a degree in civil engineering t would rather write for NATIONAL REVIEW. He begins with van-Schreiber's book on how to see Europe on the Ameri-n plan. . . . **Michael S. Gazzaniga,** chairman of the psychol-y department of the University of California (Santa Bar-a), is annoyed by scientists who try to get us all atwit about ir impending discoveries. . . . Two indispensable books out Rousseau, prophet of the New Left, are hailed by the iversity of Michigan's **Stephen J. Tonsor. . . . C. H. Simonds** tches television, when he isn't composing bogus ads for lson A. Rockefeller. . . . In Denmark, **Nika Hazelton** feels fectly at home. . . . There'll be no Notes & Asides this week, Democratic convention having pre-empted **WFB.**

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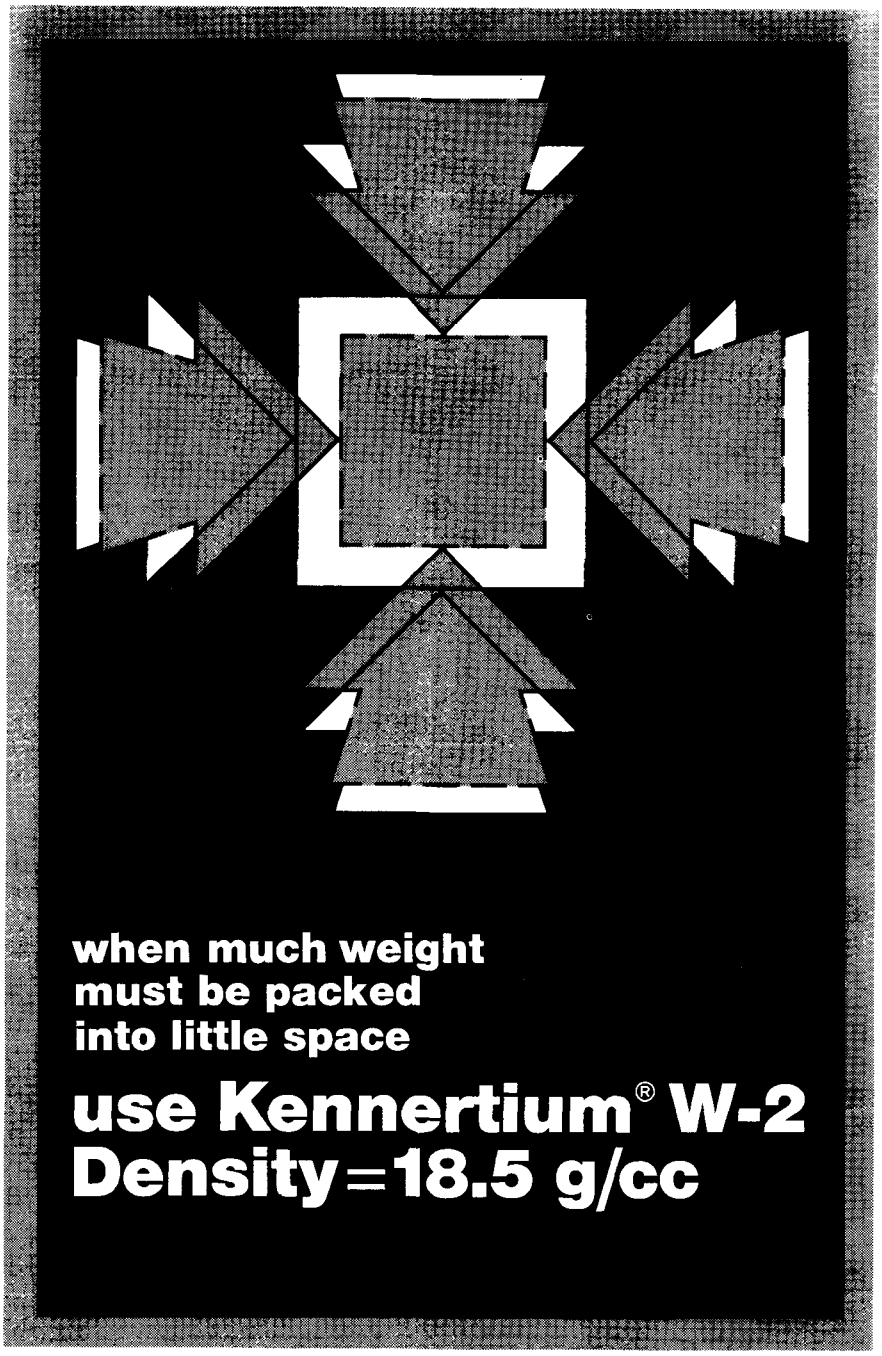

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LETTERS

The Encyclical

Shame on you, NATIONAL REVIEW, for printing that editorial on the new encyclical in the August 13 issue. You know better.

Washington, D.C. JANE REID

While I disagree with your conclusions concerning the Pope's encyclical, let me commend you for the ironic manner in which you present them. Your opposition is in sharp contrast to the tone of those 87 theologians who have, in effect, said to the Pope: "If it can't be our game, there won't be any game at all."

Wayne, Pa. NAME WITHHELD BY REQUEST

Someone at NATIONAL REVIEW has missed the boat in evaluating the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. Pope Paul's conclusions on the immorality of artificial contraception in no way depend on the opinions of this or that school of philosophy. They are conclusions from the plan and purpose of God, the Creator. The plan and purpose of the Creator are frequently manifested in the things created, and perhaps, nowhere more clearly than in the sexual faculties of man. God could not command men to "increase and multiply and fill the earth" without proportioning the means to do so. Thus, "nature" for Pope Paul is not a "machine" (sacred or otherwise). The possessor of human nature is a responsible creature invited by God to cooperate with him, in the married state, in the work of giving life to other men. On this basis the Pope is telling us that artificial contraception is in effect unnatural, and anti-nature, and thus, contrary to the plan and will of God.

Your question: "Does a Catholic have to accept, as part of his faith, a particular philosophic school?", has no relation whatever to the question treated by the Pope which is, "Does man have to live his life in accord with the will and plan of God?" —a moral question, not philosophical. Anyone who accepts the fact of creation by God must accept a plan of God in creation, and agree also to the immorality of thwarting that plan in such a serious matter as the transmission of life. If man is free to interfere with the source and transmission of life, who is to prevent him from interfering with the continuance of life? If birth control is lawful, what makes abortion and euthanasia unlawful?

Equally irrelevant, then, is your remark that the Pope thinks the Church is floundering—a lack of faith, you say, on his part. The Church's endurance is the concern of Christ; but Christ entrusted the

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"The publication of COMBAT means a great deal, I think. Mostly this, that the publishing community still has within it those who are prepared to fight, by the most traditional means, to expose the enemies of the republic. The great intimidation of the past ten years has been against those who shrink from the possibility of being judged "McCarthyite." The editors of COMBAT know what are the honorable distinctions and will abide by them. But they will not be intimidated into refusing to face the fact that there are ugly elements in American life, that they are being cuddled and psychoanalyzed, whereas they are entitled to the same consideration the Hitler youth were entitled to thirty-five years ago. The editors of COMBAT are prepared to wage combat to defend the elementary decencies." —**Wm. F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor, National Review

"The free world will rise or fall depending on the outcome of the Cold War. COMBAT is badly needed. By exposing the tactics of the Far Left it will make an incalculable contribution to the cause of freedom."—**Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J.**, Editor, Twin Circle

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Facts About Combat...

COMBAT is a publication of National Review, Inc. It is published twenty-four times a year, dated the 1st and 15th of each month.

COMBAT's editor is Theodore Lit, longtime editorial associate of the late Fulton Lewis, Jr. and former senior editor of the Conservative Book Club. Mr. Lit is a veteran journalist with an intimate professional knowledge of the Communist movement and other radical forces in America.

COMBAT's research director is Ruth I. Matthews. For more than 15 years she analyzed the Radical Left day by day as a working partner of the late J. B. Matthews of the Dies and McCarthy Committees.

Eugene Lyons, a Reader's Digest senior editor, is COMBAT's special editorial advisor. A prolific writer, Mr. Lyons has published a dozen books and hundreds of articles in national magazines, including *National Review*.

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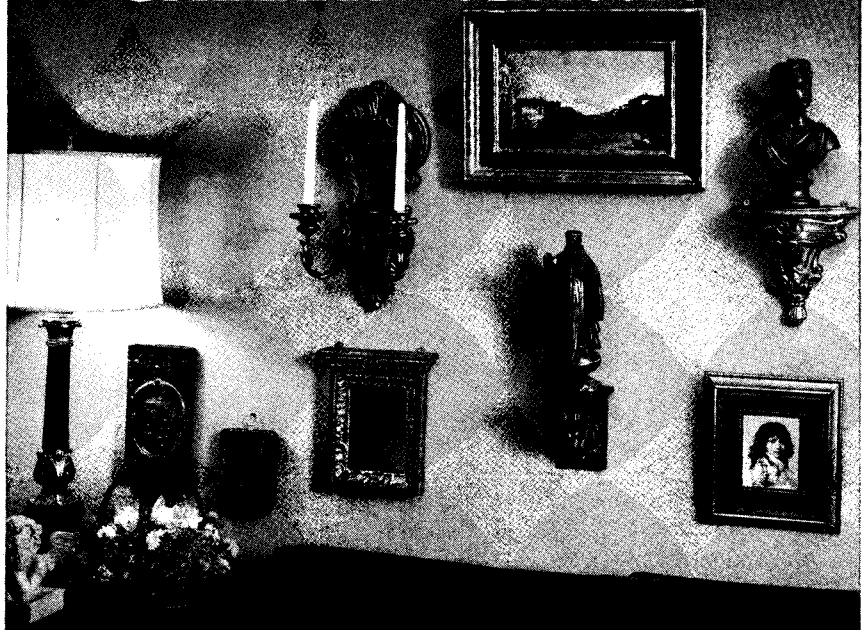

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care of souls to Peter. Pope Paul is conscious of his office as supreme teacher and shepherd. Thus, even when 80 per cent of his commission voted for concessions to the body, the pleasure and the emotions of man, the Pope remembered he was the shepherd of souls.

Port Ewen, N. Y. JAMES MCMANUS, CSSR

You imply that arguments based upon natural law are somehow inferior. You do this by labeling natural law as philosophy, and then asking if a Catholic has to accept a particular philosophy as part of his faith. Which only illustrates your lack of understanding of the natural law. For it is no less than the Eternal Law, or at least that part of it which governs the conduct of mankind. It is discernible by human reason, but only infallibly so when certified by God's broker, the Church. It is not just another man-made philosophy as you imply, but a metaphysical reality, whose interpretation and application are the special expertise and right of the Church. To deny this would be to limit the Church's authority in the field of morals to only matters touched upon by divine revelation. This would destroy the Church as a viable institution.

You also switch terms in the middle of your argument, using "nature" in place of "natural law," and in your conclusion, equating "nature" with "human life." Of course we can tamper with "nature." God explicitly gave man dominion over "nature." Indeed, this dominion is part of the "natural law." But nature itself is not the natural law. Moreover "nature" and man's dominion over it does not give man, or some men, dominion over the lives of other men, or over the source of human life. This is God's dominion.

New York, N.Y. ANDREW J. MCCAULEY

Your arguments from John Henry Newman in presenting your opposition to the Pope's encyclical on birth control overlook, it seems to me, certain important facts.

1) By implication you suggest that Newman was unable to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility proclaimed at Vatican Council I in 1870. In fact, while deeming it inopportune, he not only accepted it, but defended it against the attacks made upon it by Gladstone, the English Prime Minister (see his "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk" written in 1874). And it is important to recognize that, in "righting the boat," Vatican II in no way rejected or cut back on the statement of papal teaching authority made by Vatican I; it simply added to it a recognition of the collegial power of the bishops.

2) There would seem to be two differences between the *consensus fidelium* to which Newman refers in connection with the Arian heresy of the fourth century and the use to which you wish to put it in opposing the Pope's present teaching.

a) Newman held that the consent of the

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faithful as an index to the true teaching of the Church applied to doctrines of the faith (the Incarnation, the Immaculate Conception, etc.), not to teaching concerning the moral law. In his far-ranging historical discussion, he gives no instances whatever of moral teaching being involved, but he does say, "The faithful people have ever a special function in regard to those doctrinal truths which relate to the Objects of worship." It may be that he thought the faithful would be too much of "an interested party" to be able to judge fairly on the moral law.

b) The *consensus fidelium* was testimony to what was the *tradition* of teaching, not the reversal of that teaching in order to accept a new viewpoint. It is the whole point of Newman's argument here that Arianism was something new and fashionable, with a support from the powers that be that led even popes and bishops to waver; it was the common body of the Catholic people who maintained the older teaching as against this fashionable novelty.

Thus while there is some similarity between the pressure exerted by the Byzantine emperor and his cohorts on behalf of Arianism in the fourth century, and the pressure exerted by the mass media of publicity on behalf of contraception in the twentieth century, the parallel breaks down because the issue is a moral and not a doctrinal one. Under such circumstances it is quite possible that de Tocqueville's judgment concerning mass opinion would be the proper one rather than Newman's concerning the *consensus fidelium*. But anyone who desires a religion based on prophetic witness and independence cannot afford to have its moral teaching determined simply by a majority vote, since there is always a conflict between what one wishes to do and what one ought to do (see Vietnam as an example of this fact, and one with which you are only too familiar).

Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN J. MULLOY

In "The Encyclical" you state, pontifically, that "a pope has no more personal expertise in that specialty [philosophy] than he does in, say, economics." The editorial makes explicit that, though *NR* may have some expertise in, say, economics, it should stop dabbling in the higher sciences, say, theology.

It is equally obvious that the proponents of "modern schools of philosophy" have, by their very opposition to the natural law, and its higher expression, the Church, destroyed a civilization, something which even "modern experience" can attest to. You have misread the point of *Humanae Vitae* much as you misread Cardinal Newman.

If the Pope shows despair, it is for the ignorance of a humanity which includes those who can presume to judge on such questions by the simple expedient of looking up past issues of their own uninformed magazine.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS A. WALSH

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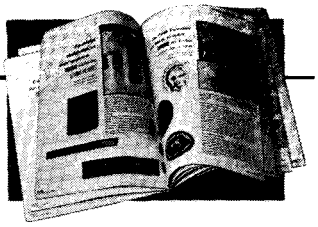

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THE WEEK

■ The *New Republic*'s columnist, "TRB", has never been a patient man. But what is one to say of his August 17 dispatch, in which he characterizes the Republican platform as one that "Lincoln or Hitler could both have run on"—and discards Agnew as merely "a man who dislikes Negroes"? One is to say, patiently, that the poor fellow has been working too hard, and needs a nice long rest.

■ The decision of New York's Conservative Party to field electors pledged to Richard Nixon has got Nixon's support. But if he persuades New York Republicans to allow the Conservatives to share their electors, he incurs the wrath of Rockefeller and Javits. If he cuddles up to R&J, he loses a large bloc of votes. The dilemma, equating as it does the big liberal guns with the Conservatives, is a major tribute to that growing party. In the gubernatorial election in 1966, the Conservatives polled 510,000 votes with an almost unknown candidate. Their Senate candidate this time around, James L. Buckley, may get a million or more. New York has 43 of the nation's 583 electoral votes, the loss of which could easily mean the game. Nixon is going to have to make somebody cross.

■ The major news media seem to have ordered a brownout of news on George Wallace's campaign. Nevertheless, word gets through. Columnists Evans and Novak, in an admission against interest, report (July 31) from Rhode Island that Wallace has a way of convincing people that he's their man. The *Wall Street Journal* in a front-page article August 27 mentions Wallace's strength in traditional Democratic areas both north and south and implies he'll be a real factor. An editor of *NR*, back from two weeks in Santa Fe, reports that the Albuquerque newspapers gave Wallace lots of coverage, played it straight, and hardly batted an eye when Wallace attracted a generally favorable audience of seven thousand people (s-e-v-e-n t-h-o-u-s-a-n-d) when he swung his campaign through Albuquerque.

■ Many press synopses of last week's FBI crime report skipped over the most shocking statistics of all. Although there were 16 per cent more crimes in the U.S. in 1967 than in 1966, arrests increased by only 4 per cent and convictions actually decreased by 8 per cent. Analyze those figures, and see whether you conclude that 1) the courts are disposing of criminal offenders more efficiently than ever before, and 2) the policeman's sure confidence that the courts are supporting him inspires extra diligence in the performance of his duties.

■ Treasury Secretary Fowler reported on August 16 that the U.S. international deficit dropped to $156 million in the second calendar quarter of this year. He failed to mention that in that quarter the U.S. peddled $500 million of nonmarketable Treasury securities to Canada and about $250 million of similar debt instruments to West Germany. Thanks to arbitrary accounting at the Treasury, sales of such bonds are not recorded as increases in liabilities although the funds received are indeed credited on the inflow side of the balance-of-payments books. Thus, instead of the slight improvement that Mr. Fowler crowed about, the U.S. deficit actually went up from $663 million in the first quarter to $900 million in the second quarter. That's why the *London Financial Times* reported Mr. Fowler's announcement as "the U.S. balance of payments improvement that never was."

■ The long-awaited Third Offensive in Vietnam has come with a vengeance: massive assaults on Tay Ninh and Duc Lap, rocket and mortar attacks on Saigon and eighteen Delta towns. These attacks have ended not only the two-month lull in the war, but also the flourish of doveish speculation to the effect that the lull in fact was a tacit North Vietnamese de-escalation. Such speculation had reached the point of absurdity, continuing even after North Vietnamese spokesmen in Paris repeatedly insisted they had no such intention. But while the Softs had, lah-de-dah, traced their circles in the sky, the U.S. military mentalities had been preparing for what they were sure would come. Result: 7,500 reported enemy dead in the first week of the new offensive.

■ Pope Paul journeyed to South America, where it is very fashionable to talk revolution nowadays, and told the *campesinos* that such is not the stuff of Christian faith, nor will it bring "the reforms necessary for a more just and efficient social arrangement." He was everywhere swept by the torrential cheers of the faithful and the curious in the hundreds and thousands, so much so that he was moved to call his trip "one of the dearest and most meaningful moments of our apostolic and pontifical ministry." Having come in order to help reunify the badly fragmented Latin American Church, Paul prudently decided to defer a defense of his birth control encyclical until the very last moment, when it was largely submerged in the wild popular adulation aroused by his ringing appeals for social justice.

■ Remember when the National Student Association was the radical vanguard of campus politics? Well, NSA just wound up a ten-day convention in Kansas, and the stirringest rhetoric to be heard was the heady exhortation, "We're going to turn this damned country around. We're going to make it stand up and do the right thing." Some other students were simultaneously mapping the new political lineup when they swarmed into the streets of Chicago early last Wednesday and woke up the city

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with screaming chants of "F--- LBJ," "F--- Mayor Daley" and "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh/The NFL Will Surely Win."

■ A group of students determined to refute the impression that all our college campuses have gone dove has launched a Student Coordinating Committee for Freedom in Vietnam and Southeast Asia (SCCFVSA). Republicans, Democrats, independents, conservatives and liberals are all included. They will distribute literature and have challenged Senators McCarthy and McGovern to a nationally televised debate. SCCFVSA has also issued a blanket challenge to public debate with national leaders of student antiwar groups. First-string debaters include Robert Turner, a specialist in Vietnamese studies at Indiana University, and Daniel Teodoru, a student in neurophysiology who also happens to be an expert on Vietnam. If your campus is in need of stiffening, write SCCFVSA, care of General Delivery, Main Post Office, Washington, D.C. (and better spell out the whole name).

■ The maximum leader of a youth organization dedicated to antivivisectionism replies to a recent solicitation (over Wm. Buckley's signature) from our anti-Communist fledgling.

> Recently, WIN received an invitation from you to become a charter subscriber to *Combat*—"The Newsletter that keeps you informed about the revolutionary struggle in America today." Cleverly, you omitted an address for the newsletter. Please accept our compliments for your underground skills.

Hell, it was easy.

■ Big Bertha (the *New York Times*) and assorted popguns are bombarding the nomination of Agnew as a sop to the unreconstructed racist Southland and *tout ce jazz-là*. Nobody else having seemed to think of it, big brave NATIONAL REVIEW hereby tells Bertha & Co. to shut up—unless and until they can explain why they delicately avoided such racist claptrap when Saint Adlai accepted John Sparkman as Veep-nominee in 1956 and Saint John chose as his running mate, in 1960, a Texas warmonger whose anti-civil-rights record stretched back, unbroken, for almost thirty years.

■ This is the way the Opinion Molders work it. It's all in the definition. "Liberal" is good, "conservative' bad; "dove" is good, "hawk" bad. So on to Czechoslovakia where the conservative Mr. Novotny has been kicked out by the liberal Mr. Dubcek, so enraging the Kremlin hawks that they quite overwhelm the Kremlin doves and send their tanks into Prague. Hey presto: Doctrinaire Communists equal conservatives and Stalinist oppressors equal hawks, whereas in real life, conservatives are on principle anti-Communist, and hawks the anti-Communist militants.

■ Mr. D. A. Wigney, writing to the *New Statesman*, poses the problem of the good socialist who tries to provide for his own future: "From the inflationary history of our economy over the past thirty years it must now be accepted that only savings linked in some way with equities of private enterprise companies or with privately owned real estate are likely to avoid loss of value in the future. Once I have tied my retirement income to such a form of savings, however, it is in my own interest that private enterprise should flourish. . . . Is there any way in which I could provide adequately for my future and still find it in my own interest to support socialist policies?" Elementary, dear Wigney: just marry into the royal family.

■ Or how's this: we could bring the boys back from Vietnam, send the Chicago police force to the DMZ, and hold the Democratic National Convention in Prague. . . .

The Unhappy Warrior

The Arrangements Committees of the two major parties did not take NATIONAL REVIEW's deadline into account in planning their schedule. Three weeks ago, in sending the *NR* Bulletin to bed, we had to nominate Richard Nixon a day before the Republican Convention did, and now (August 28, midafternoon) we shall have to give Hubert Humphrey his majority twelve or so hours before the Democratic delegates do.

By that time we imagine it is going to be hard for the candidate to put himself, in time for his acceptance speech, into that happy and positive frame of mind that is his hallmark. This Stockyards convention has proved to be a bruising business. No loyal citizen of this country, no matter how eager he may be to see the Democratic rascals thrown out by the November election, can be undismayed at the spectacle in Chicago. Where indeed are we rushing if a city must be turned into a concentration camp in order that the nominating convention of a great political party, founded in our nation's early years and incorporating in its membership more than half the nation's voters, may assemble? If in the streets of that city, while the proceedings carry fitfully on, thousands of citizens, police and troops battle to the sound of screaming obscenities and treasonous cries? if the President himself, the nation's leading magistrate, dare not join his friends and party colleagues in birthday celebration, for fear of touching off major violence? if police-state control measures must be imposed to try to prevent the outside world from realizing the surrounding circumstances in which the assembly acts?

The Democratic Party has shown many times in the past its remarkable power of pulling itself together for an election after a tearing sequence of bitter internal fights. This time the recuperative effort looks insurmountable. Most (though not all) of the professionals and old-timers will probably gather round the torn banner, even if not very enthusiastically in many cases; but the wilder sec-

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A Funeral With Guns

I don't like funerals. In fact, it's a rare day when I can be talked into attending any funeral. However, on August 10, 1968 I journeyed up to the Trinity Baptist Church on Jefferson Street in Los Angeles to watch the ultra-radical Black Panther Party give its farewell to a brother killed in a shoot-out with the Los Angeles Police.

Following this Panther-Police struggle, the usual inflammatory rhetoric flooded the black community of Los Angeles. The ultra-left-wing press labeled the shootings another example of "police murder." In this atmosphere, I decided the funeral of Tommy Lewis, eighteen at the time of his death and a hard-core Panther member, might signify more than tragic bewilderment for his family.

The Baptist Church was empty except for ritualistic mounds of flowers and a lone janitor when I arrived. A police helicopter maintaining a circular vigilance overhead was the only sign of surveillance.

This relatively serene death-watch was suddenly shattered by a scene comparable to a bad Marlon Brando movie. Out in the parking lot, a car suddenly careened into a space. It was quickly followed by another, then another, until most of the lot was filled. The cars whipped into the available spaces like some kind of close-order drill.

No sooner had the cars charged into the lot than the occupants of each leaped out and fell into military formation. As the cars emptied, all you could see were Black Panther uniforms. Close to one hundred Panthers lined the parking area stereotyped in black berets, black jackets and black pants. Female Panthers, all coiffured in the "natural" look, formed a separate platoon with their own drill masters.

Orders were shouted and the ranks fell quickly into place at ramrod attention. Most of the Panthers held copies of the little red book, *The Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The contrast was interesting, but not especially startling.

Looking skyward, I saw atop some of the surrounding buildings Black Panther guards surveying the black formations in a manner reminiscent of the Secret Service at a Presidential speech. The sight was imposing (in a theatrical sense) and frightening (in a real sense). A week later, one of the deeper-underground newspapers in Los Angeles reinforced my notion that most of the mourners were armed.

Not being a martyr, I decided to head out when Bobby Seale, the chairman of the Black Panther Party, suddenly began addressing the mourners lined up in the parking lot:

"You are a black liberation army. You don't stop for nothin'. We got no bullshit—at all. These pigs and hogs of the white power structure got to be destroyed. How do you destroy 'em?"

The massed troops responded in a shout: "GUNS! KILL! GUNS!"

Seale pushed them on. "Guns! That means bombs. We are no gang—we are a political party that will use . . ."

Again the chorus responded: "GUNS!"

Back to Seale: "I can't hear you."

"GUNS!"

Seale then proceeded to rap out the only hard-core eulogy of the day. He shouted to the lines:

"We gonna use a high-powered rifle to down a helicopter.

"We are honoring all our black freedom fighters that were taken from the shores of Africa. We are honoring all our freedom fighters of the Third World that have been killed fighting the racist pig imperialists."

Following the soliloquy, Seale moved on to review his troops. A photographer tried to follow, but was shoved aside as Seale glared, "I don't want you to take my picture. Get away from me. Now!" The photographer moved back to the fringe of the lot.

Like a bizarre Parris Island inspector, Bobby Seale moved down the line, occasionally standing nose to nose with someone and commanding: "We will die with honor. Look me in the eye. Don't let your eyes fall below mine." While Bobby Seale looked them over, a Black Panther officer openly passed a .45 caliber pistol to a lieutenant. The other Panther stoically stowed it in his belt.

The Panthers and their cronies moved into the church from the parking lot in drill fashion and lined the aisles as if honoring a hero stricken in the passion of guerrilla warfare. The Christian service completed, the Panthers marched past the casket and back into the parking lot.

The Trinity Baptist Church was again empty except for the family of Tommy Lewis. Then Eldridge Cleaver strode into the church. Cleaver is the minister of information of the Black Panther Party, a convicted felon and the Presidential candidate on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. He stood quietly beside the casket and then retired.

Outside the church verbal antagonism between the Panthers and outsiders began to turn into a pushing contest. The agony of death is too personal to share with more than a crowd of Panthers. I quickly headed back to my car.

PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

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tions of the leftish Vietnik crowd that attached itself to Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern and Bobby Kennedy is not likely to keep ranks. If they can't get a fourth party off the ground, they will move apart, some dropping out and others expressing their political feelings in the ways to which they have been accustoming us.

There is much irony in the Democratic Party's political spectrum of the moment. Hubert Humphrey is a longtime liberal and welfarist, leaning generally rather toward the left than the right of the liberal norm. Except for the one Vietnam plank—which is in truth ambiguous enough to mean whatever a President chooses to want it to mean—the Platform adopted in Chicago is further to the left than any previous Democratic, or Republican, national platform. But in the campaign for the nomination and in the convention, Hubert Humphrey appeared, by virtue of the predominance that the Vietnam issue had acquired, as the candidate of his party's Right—more exactly, of its Center, supported crucially by its Right, against the motley combination on the party's Left. Brought back into the general frame of the nation's politics, this distortion is corrected, and the Democratic Party campaigning under Hubert Humphrey's leadership is seen in its true alignment on the national Left—the Tired, we might say, as distinguished from the New Left.

Let us hope that the entire week in Chicago will prove to have been a passing distortion of the national reality.

The Medium Erases the Message

George Wallace and Richard Nixon could look forward to the most fruitful week of their Presidential campaigns. Tom Hayden, the Yippies, Gene McCarthy's most hecklesome cheerleaders and many more—all had swept into Chicago to make the city look like Prague of the week before. The stage was set for a nationally televised execution of the Democratic Party, and the death rattle might have sounded something like this:

"Chet, here's the third speech of the night about the ideals of the Great Society."

"Right, David. Let's switch to our mobile unit outside. We've got five thousand angry demonstrators out there, they're calling the Administration and the party some pretty nasty names, and National Guardsmen and police are beginning to move into the crowd with billy clubs, tear gas and Mace."

The obituary ingredients were there, in Chicago, but at this convention the networks didn't really learn how to package them until Wednesday night, when television viewers finally got a look at the goings-on. "Chicago is not a police state," said ABC's Howard K. Smith on Tuesday. "But nobody told the police." He was angry about Monday night's Yippie demonstration in Lincoln Park, where police injured 21 newsmen and photographers. "I think we've got a bunch of thugs here," complained Walter Cronkite, after security guards knocked CBS correspondent Dan Rather off his feet to keep him from an interview on the convention floor.

Mayor Daley is not a man known for his finesse, but he can use several varieties of clout. Witness his handling of the striking electrical workers, which, on the excuse of limited time, prevented the installation of equipment necessary for live television broadcasts from the convention hotels. And as a security precaution, said the Mayor's office, Chicago could not allow cameras atop the convention hall itself. All this meant that live coverage was permitted only inside the Amphitheatre, where none of the thousands of protestors could come. (Security was so tight that House Speaker John McCormack was turned back Monday night when his delegate badge inexplicably triggered the red instead of the green light at one of the guard posts.) And stopping live coverage outside was not enough. Daley banned videotape trucks from curbs near the hotels because, said a police official, "the delegates need space to board buses." This left the cameras with no place to hook up.

Inside Convention Hall, the arrangements committee limited each network to two floor correspondents (as many as twelve have been allowed at past conventions). One thousand reporters from the dailies shared 55 floor passes. Reporters for 350 magazines and periodicals got five. The most ludicrous rule, obviously laid down by officials who had monitored Miami Beach, prevented delegates from carrying newspapers into convention hall. It looks undignified, explained a party spokesman, to read newspapers while speeches are being made. One wonders, could the opposition party, lacking the authority of the President-Commander-in-Chief in the background, have fought what Cronkite called the "free flow of information" with the same iron fist?

Teddy No Go

By the day of balloting Hubert Humphrey had succeeded in satisfying too many people, i.e. in compromising himself so thoroughly, that the heatedly discussed Ted Kennedy draft could not take effect. John Connally, Texas' favorite son and Lyndon Johnson's pal, had come to town with his back up over the unit rule. He secured Humphrey's agreement that repeal had best be put off until 1972, and there are those who say he tried to secure more, and may have done so. The Old South, in the form of Connally, Buford Ellington of Tennessee and other Southern favorite-son types, was rising against Hubert's impending appeasement of the McCarthy-Kennedy forces on Vietnam. And, along with Richard Daley's Illinois delegation, the Southerners were creating a gap in Humphrey's delegate strength through which the Kennedy draft could build to gale force. When it came to the floor fight, somehow Humphrey's support for retention of the unit rule didn't come through. What did come through, straight from the White House, was a plank on Vietnam tougher than the Humphrey forces would have liked and, next thing you know, Connally, Ellington et al.

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were releasing their delegates to Humphrey. At the same time the credentials fight in other Southern delegations, notably Georgia, ended happily (or happily enough for Julian Bond), and the Administration kept a part of its credit with the Negroes. A Black Caucus withdrew to nominate the Rev. Channing Phillips, a Bobby Kennedy man, for President. But Bobby's brother would not, repeat not, be available.

Under the Knout

The presence of the Russian troops is the political reality with which we must start. Ludvik Svoboda, August 27.

To speak of "negotiations" and "compromise agreement" is to connive in the fraud. You don't negotiate with the man who has a gun at your head. Even the *New York Times*, in a momentary burst of frankness, was constrained to remark: "The reported compromise on Czechoslovakia is basically no different from the *diktat* that was imposed on Hungary. The Soviet Union is again asserting its right to invade any socialist country, and to impose its will by force of arms upon the people and government of that land." The *Times* was not quite complete in its frankness, choosing only to hint by its use of the word that the style for this sort of *diktat* in our time was set as conspicuously by Hitler as by the masters of the Kremlin. The *New York Post* paused long enough from its ardent advocacy of American capitulation in Vietnam to mention the connection: "The pretexts offered by *Pravda* are beneath contempt and beyond discussion. They were plagiarized from Dr. Goebbels."

"—and would you fail to feel strongly against our refusal not to withdraw from Vietnam?"

Czech party chief Alexander Dubcek, President Ludvik Svoboda and their colleagues did not negotiate but capitulated. That is the way it was and doubtless the way it had to be. An individual may properly choose certain death rather than surrender. But the government of a nation does not have the right to commit the people of the nation to a hopeless war. The people themselves might decide on the war even knowing it was hopeless, but no one is morally entitled to make that decision for them. The Russian troops were present, overwhelmingly, in the small, isolated, surrounded country of fourteen million inhabitants. Therefore the Czech leaders had no choice but capitulation. But this capitulation, such are the total circumstances, does not turn the clock back to the days before the Czech stirrings began. The Soviet *diktat* is not a "solution" but a messy patching—because, fundamentally, the disease that flared up in Czechoslovakia is endemic in the Communist system, the Soviet Union itself included. Cauterized by whatever means in a local flareup, it remains everywhere latent.

This present Czech episode has illuminated a question long debated by students of Communism and the Soviet Union. Is the Soviet regime merely the continuation of the Czarist Russian Empire, and its Communism merely a verbal style with no significant historical bearing?

Certainly, the Kremlin's moves confirm that in one perspective the Soviet regime is indeed the historical successor of the pre-Communist Empire. Geography does not change with politics. As is obvious on the map, Czechoslovakia is a most sensitive area from the standpoint of Russian strategic security. It is a potential entry point for any Western invader, above all the German invader who has twice in this century marched eastward; and all the more disturbing because Czechoslovak territory leads on into the Ukraine, which has demonstrated in a hundred crises over five centuries that many of its people refuse to become reconciled to rule from Russian Moscow. Thus Russia must and does seek to protect her western borders by a glacis of buffer states, and inevitably grows jittery at any development she interprets as threatening to weaken or breach them, especially when Germans are across the line.

However, the Svoboda-Dubcek government did not question these Russian security requirements. They pledged formally to abide by the Warsaw Pact and to continue in close military alliance with Moscow, and they undoubtedly believed that this arrangement was to Czechoslovakia's own interest. The Czechs remember 1938 as well as 1948. They know their country is squeezed between the two greater nations and that, granted the present power relations, they cannot hope to pursue a course wholly independent in relation to Russia, even if they should wish to.

Let us assume that the Kremlin nevertheless was fearful of a breach in the western line. To the extent that this was its motive, the military intervention can be interpreted as an orthodox reaction by the Russian Empire.

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But the background, declarations, act, demands and terms of the *diktat* (so far as they have been revealed) prove that the strategic aim was only one and apparently the lesser part of the Kremlin's motivation. For months the Soviet press has been hammering above all at the Czech heresies in lifting censorship of the press, permitting a wide range of opposition opinion and dropping the concept of the monopoly political role of the Communist Party. The terms dictated by the Soviet tanks and guns aim to liquidate these heresies and to restore, precisely, *Communism*—communism not simply as a form of rhetoric, from which the Czech leaders never desisted, but Communism in its institutional and existential reality, to which a party monopoly of power and a party control of opinion are essential.

The Czech episode once again disproves Charles de Gaulle, George Kennan and all those others who dismiss Communism as meaningless, and once again may serve to remind us that it is neither metaphor nor nonsense when Communists promise, "We will bury you."

A Small Country

Neville Chamberlain said it in 1938: "Czechoslovakia is a small country, far away, of which we know nothing." And within a year, the Second World War had broken out.

Czechoslovakia is still a small country and far away. What we do know about it is that for thirty years it has been in thrall to one totalitarianism or another. And when it reached out for a crumb or two of freedom, cautiously, tentatively, non-belligerently, it was swiftly, decisively, brutally slapped down. But that yearning for liberty has caused a ripple that laps the continents of the world.

To the Communist Establishment it has demonstrated: The Soviet Union can count only on the satellites that it dominates by force of arms—Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, Hungary—and not even all of them. Not on Rumania, which has been pushing for external freedom, or on Yugoslavia which severed its umbilical cord with Moscow two decades ago. Hanoi supports Moscow ("Troops entering Czechoslovakia had the noble goal of defending the country against counter-revolutionary elements") because Moscow provides Hanoi with the wherewithal of survival. Peking blasted Moscow (but Peking always does); Cuba gave only grudging support. Of the major Communist parties outside the Soviet bloc, nearly all criticized the Russian move. The French Party, for the first time in the memory of man, expressed "surprise and severe disapproval" of the invasion. The powerful Italian party blasted the Kremlin leadership. Some of the Communist leaders may be faking their indignation in order not to antagonize their shocked followers, but even the need for the fakery would be significant enough. In the United States, where the official CP is having its troubles keeping ahead of the more violent, more revolutionary, Peking- and Havana-oriented groups, Secretary General Gus Hall came out in favor of the Soviet occupation with the telling statement: "We are for freedom. But we are not for the freedom of those who endanger socialism." And started off an internal party row that is still reverberating.

Within the bloc, it meant instant repression. East Germany picked up Professor Hubert Havermann and the poet Wolf Biermann, both major critics of the Ulbricht regime, before the troops moved into Czechoslovakia on August 21. In Moscow, Pavel Litvinov, grandson of the former Foreign Minister, Mrs. Yuri Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer, and five others were arrested on Aug. 25 for trying to stage a pro-Prague demonstration (possible sentence: three years). And in Poland Gomulka warned his people against shows of sympathy with the Czechs. (The Poles know what the Czechs are going through; they were there in 1956.)

In the Third World: Tanzania, which pretty much lives on Soviet and Red Chinese handouts, lambasted the Soviet Union. The Congo announced it was recalling its students from schools in Moscow and the four Warsaw

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Pact countries that took part in the invasion. Mrs. Indira Gandhi faced a parliamentary crisis for not supporting the Security Council resolution condemning the Soviet aggression.

In the Arab world—in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Algeria particularly—there were no public outcries against the Soviet action but plenty of private confabs about what it means to get too intimately tied in with the Soviet Union: to depend too completely on Soviet military hardware, to have Soviet ships and planes using your airfields and naval bases.

In Western Europe: De Gaulle came out against Moscow and somehow made it sound as if America was at fault. Other NATO nations, Denmark and Norway, which had been considering maybe getting out of the Alliance next year, were having second thoughts. The West German government, with Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops massing on its borders, called a cabinet meeting, and will raise the defense budget next year. Senator Mike Mansfield, who has been urging a major cutback in U.S. troops in Europe, abandoned that drive ("We have no choice but to maintain our present position there").

In the Far East, Manila forbade its citizens to travel to the Warsaw Pact countries involved in the occupation. Australia's Prime Minister, John Gorton, found the occupation "saddening to all those who had hoped there might be in the Communist world some relaxation of this central tyranny and freedom would be allowed in those countries which now appear to be colonies of the USSR." And in Japan where the question of U.S. military bases and continued rights over Okinawa had been becoming touchy, there were second thoughts at high government and military levels. Said one top defense expert: "It took Czechoslovakia to open our eyes."

A small country, but perhaps not so far away.

The First Sip

. . . All is over. Silent, mournful, abandoned, broken, Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness. . . . Many people, no doubt, honestly believe that they are only giving away the interests of Czechoslovakia, whereas I fear we shall find that we have deeply compromised, and perhaps fatally endangered, the safety of America and her NATO allies. This is not merely a question of . . . losing influence in eastern Europe. It goes far deeper than that. You have to consider the character of the Communist movement and the rule which it implies. The President desires to see cordial relations between this country and the Soviet Union. There is no difficulty at all in having cordial relations between the peoples. Our hearts go out to them. But they have no power. But never will you have friendship with the present Soviet government. You must have diplomatic and correct relations, but there can never be friendship between American democracy and the Communist power, that power which spurns Christian ethics, which cheers its onward course by barbarous paganism, which vaunts the spirit of aggression and conquest, which derives strength and perverted pleasure from persecution, and uses, as we have seen, with pitiless brutality the threat of murderous force. That power cannot ever be the trusted friend of the American democracy. . . . And do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
House of Commons
Oct. 5, 1938

Proper names updated

Re Magistrorum, Scholarium . . .

Dean Edward Barrett of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, a man much respected by colleagues and adored by his students, shocked university officials earlier this summer by quietly resigning. Dean Barrett made it known that while he had "no sympathy whatever for the young SDS group who seek destruction," he nevertheless found himself "in basic disagreement with a majority of those who make university policy" inasmuch as they have failed even to recognize "a deep student-faculty discontent with what has seemed to many to be authoritarian rule by remote, inaccessible powers." This discontent, in the dean's judgment, made it possible last spring for a small band of revolutionaries to mobilize considerable popular support for their wild demands. Accordingly, he advanced a less wild, and disregarded, suggestion: include eight faculty members and two students on the 24-member board of trustees.

Dean Barrett has not been alone in advocating responsible reform at Columbia. The Faculty's Executive Committee, working under a $50,000 Ford Foundation grant, will come up with a set of proposals this month. Another group of professors has proposed a system of student tribunals to enforce university regulations. Another is studying relations with Harlem. The Alumni Federation recently proposed "boards of visitors"—with student members included—to hear grievances and make reports. These activities have been played on the front pages all summer, but met only resounding silence from the administrative offices in Low Library. That is, until last week, when Grayson Kirk, the president and major symbol of student dissatisfaction, announced he would retire in order "to insure the prospect of more normal university operations during the coming academic year." Come autumn, the feeling had run all summer in responsible circles, President Kirk would have to say or do something—surely he could not continue to say or

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do nothing—and there was considerable apprehension over just what it would be. Well, Grayson Kirk did do something. He quit.

What has not been played on the front pages all summer, and what should cause more apprehension than anything else, is what the students are cooking up for the opening of school. Several groups are drawing up reforms, but this is merely an exercise. Their demands will be uniformly excessive, asking full amnesty for arrested students as a starter. Students for a Restructured University (SRU), having split from the revolutionary SDS, is now the principal moderate reform group. It has been working this summer with Ford Foundation money, although it has yet to formulate its proposals. "We're not going to threaten anything," an SRU leader told NATIONAL REVIEW, "but if our proposals go for a few weeks this fall and nothing happens, we'll demonstrate." The SRU newsletter, *Student Voice*, declares: "If the present hard-line policy continues, Columbia will not only be a battleground again this fall, but we expect each battle to be more violent than the one before." If these are the views of the moderates, Columbia had better start battening down.

Mushrooms a la Francaise

La bombe H, "a magnificent scientific, technical and industrial success, achieved for the independence and security of France by an elite of her children," came sixteen years after the U.S. blew an H-bomb, fifteen years after Russia, twelve after Britain, one after China. It took France eight years from A to H, an extraordinary lapse. (The Soviet Union needed less than two years.)

The U.S. has always taken the position—the internationally accepted position, as witness the nonproliferation treaty—that the development of nuclear forces by Nth powers is worse than useless, that it is, in fact, dangerous since it adds to the number of fingers in close proximity to a nuclear trigger. This is a liberal sort of line and, in the abstract, probably correct. But the world is not abstract, and certainly General de Gaulle is not, and to expect him to give up some of France's power for the good of even the whole bloody world is to expect the impossible. In fact, the *force de frappe* probably will bolster France's bargaining position in world affairs even though, as the strategic analysts tell us, the force is probably useless militarily, since a big power like the U.S. or the USSR could snuff out the few French bombs before they got off the ground in Dijon. But imagine if: Things tense up in Europe and Russia threatens France, whereupon France, not sure of U.S. support, says Stop or We'll Nuke You, to which Russia says you *can't* nuke us, whereupon France turns to the U.S. and says, quick, *you* stop them or *we*'ll start a nuclear war into which you'll automatically be pulled. That's called Diplomacy, and it can be messy. But consider another scenario: The U.S. bombs out China's nuclear facilities and Russia twitches but says nothing. Time passes. Russia bombs out France's nuclear facilities. The U.S. twitches and says nothing. *Fou*, eh?

Fortas *v.* Fortas

In this issue's lead book review Professor Harry V. Jaffa summarizes and warmly commends Justice Abe Fortas' recently published essay, *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience*. We see no reason to take exception to our distinguished reviewer's verdict as it applies to the formal argument presented by Justice Fortas in this case. At the same time we do not find that a favorable opinion on what Justice Fortas has here written leads us to alter our conclusion that his nomination as Chief Justice should be opposed, and rejected, in the Senate.

Justice Fortas' close working relationship with President Johnson—Representative John Ashbrook has with much justification called him "the President's fixer"—has been abundantly documented. It has continued, by his own testimony, since his elevation to the Court, and has ranged from the undercover effort to suppress news in the sordid Walter Jenkins affair to intimate consultation on the highest levels of foreign policy issues (Dominican Republic, Vietnam) and the domestic economy (steel). This kind of relationship with the chief executive, and the qualities of mind and temperament it indicates, are unseemly and unsuitable in the nation's highest judicial magistrate.

Justice Fortas' commitment to centralized welfarist statism has been continuous since New Deal days. He has never given a straightforward account of his early and numerous associations with leftist individuals and organizations, among them not a few fellow travelers and Communist fronts. And though this present essay doubtless expresses Justice Fortas' sincerely held abstract beliefs, they have not prevented him, either before or after becoming a judge, from upholding in specific issues the view that has in practical consequences undermined or subverted the constitutional law and order to which his abstract thesis is dedicated.

We therefore reaffirm: let the Senate, in responsible exercise of its constitutional privilege and duty, withhold its approval of the nomination of Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the United States.

Forgetful

Today, tomorrow and next week
Look for the liberals to shriek
Unceasingly about the way
The fellows in the Kremlin play.
Next month, some murmurs may persist.
But by October, "coexist"
Will once again be just routine
For Fulbright, Javits and Eugene.

W. H. VON DREELE

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JAMES BURNHAM

PRISONHOUSE OF NATIONS

THE THIRD WORLD WAR

This Czechoslovak affair is peculiarly frustrating. On the one hand, it is so brutally outrageous. On the other, there seems to be nothing meaningful to do about it.

Direct military counteraction is excluded. About this there should be no confusion. It is not a question of appeasement *v.* firmness; it would make no difference if the shrillest imaginable hawks were running the American and NATO governments; nor does it have anything to do with Vietnam. Military counteraction is excluded by the strategic realities. NATO does not have the military means to mount a conventional military offensive into eastern Europe. Nuclear operations are effectively deterred by the Soviet Union's strategic nuclear force. Q. E. D.

"You cannot step twice into the same river," wrote Heraclitus, meaning that time's current is irreversible. The strategic realities of 1956 were quite different from today's. When Hungarian students and workers were fighting for freedom—and the students and workers of much of the rest of eastern Europe ready to join them—the Soviet Union had no intercontinental missiles and a feeble long-range air force. We were then in a strategic position to lay down an ultimatum that would have kept Soviet troops out of Hungary. The Kremlin knew this. That is why the Soviet leaders waited a week before ordering their troops in. They had to make sure the U. S. Government was *not* going to act. If . . .: but there's no use crying over history's might-have-beens.

On the Moral Front

Excluding direct military moves does not rule out all forms of military and paramilitary action. If civil war, guerrilla operations or some sort of underground resistance movement started up in Czechoslovakia, perhaps spreading elsewhere in eastern Europe, the overall strategic stalemate would not necessarily prohibit unofficial aid. That, after all, is a routine feature of our time—especially in the reverse direction. But such developments are unlikely, if for no other reason, because the Czechs remember that nothing official or unofficial, direct or indirect, was done to aid the Hungarians.

What about nonmilitary support—economic, diplomatic, "moral"? It is surely in order—some even is being attempted—but experience does not suggest much optimism about what it can accomplish. Denunciations may relieve the feelings of indignant Westerners, but they roll unnoticed off Bolshevik hides. It should be added that most Bolsheviks, particularly Russian Bolsheviks, undoubtedly judge this Czech operation to be justified preventive therapy—as from their point of view it probably is.

Boycotts are almost impossible to organize and seldom achieve much anyway. Besides, it is not clear what we would even aim to achieve in this case. The Czech operation is being publicized as a Warsaw Pact enterprise involving Polish, East German, Hungarian and Bulgarian as well as Soviet troops. However, all photographs and specific reports are of Russian soldiers only. It is likely that there are only token units from the four satellite armies, included as politico-psychological window dressing. Unquestionably most people in the four satellite countries are opposed to what is being done to Czechoslovakia by Moscow's command, but Moscow is trying to exploit the Czech "danger" (of, for one thing, opening a breach to "West German revanchism") as a means of drawing the satellites back more closely around her. Thus, an undifferentiated boycott—or any other undifferentiated counteraction—against all five of "the invading powers" might further Moscow's purpose. Countermeasures ought properly to be focused against the Soviet Union; the Warsaw Pact "joint action" should be exposed as the fraud it really is.

Back to School

Perhaps the most productive response would be educational, and in that endeavor diplomatic and moral gestures would acquire a significant role. This brutal assault, while still fresh before the minds of most of the world, can be made the occasion for re-teaching the central lesson of our epoch: that Communism is Communism; and that a communized Russia is only a more voracious "prisonhouse of nations" than the Czarist Russia that was thus christened by its victim-nations.

Lectured about in the abstract, the truths about Communist imperialism and despotism are not convincing to the nations of the Third World whose actual experiences have been of an imperialism imposed by Western powers. But in eastern Europe right now there is openly displayed the reality of a crushing imperialism and a ruthless despotism. Because it is once more Czechoslovakia, Brezhnev-Kosygin are revealed as the heirs and imitators of Stalin and Hitler. There is thus a chance to present the lesson more persuasively right now, before the reality is once more obscured by the disguised capitulation that will doubtless be discreetly drawn over Czechoslovakia's ravaged hopes. Even the Arab nations of the Middle East, currently within the range of Russia's strategic probing, might listen right now, especially if the teacher emphasized the seriousness of his point by a few symbolic acts—canceling the Moscow-New York air run, for example, suspending cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, indefinitely postponing the disarmament talks on the obvious ground that no agreement with the Kremlin can be trusted, perhaps recalling the ambassador from Moscow.

Unfortunately, many of our own spokesmen are among those who most need educating. □

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BOMB THE BOMB?

What options are open to the United States in dealing with a nuclear-armed Red Chinese aggressor? The authors weigh the alternatives and conclude that a strike at China's nuclear installations could be the answer

ASSERTIVE DISARMAMENT

ROBERT M. LAWRENCE and WILLIAM R. VAN CLEAVE

China has now tested both a missile-carried nuclear warhead and an apparently transportable thermonuclear device in the megaton range. These rapid advances in the development of nuclear weapons, and the obviously high priority Chinese leaders have assigned to continued progress, necessitate a careful consideration of their potential consequences for the West.

In general, there are two ways in which Chinese nuclear weapons could threaten international stability and United States interests. First, it is possible that the Chinese leadership—whatever its nature after Mao Tse-tung—may seek to pursue anti-status quo or imperialist policies by aggression or threats of aggression in which nuclear weapons would play a role. Possible actions of this type range from the political-psychological use of the weapons to embarrass or extract concessions from an Asian government, to attempts to deter the United States from taking actions in Asia it might otherwise have taken, to the actual use of nuclear weapons for destructive purposes. Almost any conceivable use of nuclear weapons by China within this category seems to be clearly in opposition to American interests, as those interests are now defined.

Secondly, it seems likely that the Chinese nuclear weapons program may promote additional proliferation of nuclear weapons. Already Chinese nuclear activity has stimulated interest in national nuclear weapons in both India and Japan and, indeed, has prompted both countries to cultivate nuclear weapons options. Moreover, it seems entirely possible that, once the Chinese nuclear program has progressed to a certain stage, China may actively promote proliferation in order to gain political, strategic, or even commercial advantage. In any event, any increase in the present number of military nuclear powers has clearly been stated by American officials to be contrary to the interests of the United States.

Not Preventive War

The United States may, of course, choose to do nothing specifically designed to cope with these looming problems, perhaps in the hope that no real threat from China will materialize. On the other hand, the United States may pursue the related goals of dampening the Chinese nuclear threat and inhibiting further nuclear proliferation through one or a combination of several actions or policy alternatives. Those most frequently discussed are: 1) the negotiation of a Nonproliferation Treaty whereby nuclear signatories would agree to refrain from nuclear weapons assistance or the transfer of nuclear weapons to militarily non-nuclear powers, and the latter would agree not to acquire the weapons on their own; 2) the extension of the nuclear test-ban treaty by including more nations and by prohibiting underground testing;[1] 3) multilateral agreements restricting the sale or transfer of delivery systems suitable for nuclear weapons; 4) nuclear free zone agreements; 5) a guarantee of protection to non-nuclear powers against nuclear blackmail;[2] 6) deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system designed to thwart Chinese nuclear threats to the United States and thus presumably make more credible American nuclear guarantees to Asiatic nations; 7) extensive U.S. military commitments in Asia to contain possible Chinese expansion and to protect nations exposed to Chinese military pressure; 8) nuclear weapons sharing and/or selective nuclear weapons transfer; 9) the destruction of all or some critical part of China's nuclear weapons capacity.

All but the last of these options have been discussed and analyzed in scholarly literature and responsible public discussion. Let us take up the last, largely neglected, option, to which we shall give the term "assertive disarmament."

By "assertive disarmament" we do not mean the species of aggressive acts usually referred to as preventive war. The term is not used to mean a large-

1. The possibility of Mainland China agreeing to either of these two legalistic arrangements seems minimal, if not zero, for the foreseeable future. And, as a Japanese spokesman expressed it, "one begins to wonder whether it is wise for us Japanese to give up the option that China has taken up."

2. The problems associated with this are obvious and relate to credibility and effectiveness, to definitions of when and how the guarantee would be fulfilled, and to whether such guarantees—no matter how ostensibly credible and how precisely and clearly defined—are sufficiently relevant to all important threats and all important reasons a nation may have to acquire nuclear weapons. Some indication of these problems can be had from the Nonproliferation Hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in February-March 1966. When Secretary McNamara declined to define or refine what the United States might mean by such "support," Congressman Hosmer retorted, "That kind of leaves us dangling as to what the intentions of the Administration are in this area." Also see Alastair Buchan, "The Security of India," *The World Today* (May 1965): "Even if water-tight guarantees from the nuclear powers could be negotiated, India does not want to be singled out for special treatment, to be a sort of nursling of the Great Powers while China stands on her own feet." And, Raj Kirshna, "India and the Bomb," *Military Review* (December 1965): ". . . The naval, air and nuclear power of the United States is by itself no answer to . . . the contingencies which the Chinese are likely to create in the near future. They will not create contingencies in which U.S. power is a relevant deterrent."

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scale, destructive disabling strike on China. It is not meant to cover acts designed to enable the United States to impose its political or economic will on the Chinese. By "assertive disarmament," we mean solely a precise, surgical disruption of China's present capability to produce nuclear weapons.

A balanced analysis of assertive disarmament is difficult to make for several reasons. The emotionalism attached to discussions of nuclear weapons is compounded by the emotionalism associated with discussions of China and Communism. Also the very concept of an assertive disarmament strike tends to take on connotations of preventive war, abhorrent to American ideals and now especially repugnant to many Americans because of what is to them a distasteful involvement in Vietnam.

I

The first issue to consider is the nature of the Chinese threat, and how China might use its nuclear capability. Recent history shows that there has been a gap between declaratory Chinese foreign policy and implemented policy. Despite belligerent statements from Peking, as for example the famous manifesto issued by Defense Minister Lin Piao in September 1965, Chinese military action has generally been either defensive or low-risk in nature. Chinese military operations, while perhaps designed to change the status quo, have been generally cautious, not reckless.[3] As suggested by Allen Whiting in *China Crosses the Yalu*, the Chinese entry into the Korean conflict was probably a last-ditch defensive reaction against General MacArthur's forces. The invasion of Tibet, despite its brutality, involved little risk. The brief conflicts with India have been, because of the remote area of the fighting, and the state of India's armed forces, low-risk ventures.

These considerations may suggest that China is not prepared to take large military risks except in defense of vital interests. It could also mean that China's reaction to an assertive disarmament strike would be low and very limited.

As China advances her technology and nuclear weapons capability, will Chinese leaders develop a position of moderation and responsibility toward their own and other peoples, or will they follow the aggressive patterns adopted in this century by Germany, Italy, Japan, and to some extent by the Soviet Union? W. W. Rostow, the President's special foreign policy adviser, suggests in his book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, that the latter nations underwent what might be called the big-power industrialization syndrome, and that China may be subject to the same malaise. Rostow describes two directions where newly acquired national strength can go: toward solving the problems of material allocation within the domestic society, or toward forming a modern military machine and an authoritarian state, as China seems now bent on doing. In the latter case, force or the threat of force may be employed to settle old international disputes, reclaim lost peoples and lands, gain national or personal prestige, or to underwrite a host of foreign ventures.

It seems distinctly possible that China may become more overtly aggressive as her military nuclear force grows to the extent that she can hold Asian nations, or even United States cities, hostage. There seems little doubt that, in a direct nuclear confrontation over interests the United States considered extremely important, the vast nuclear superiority of the United States would deter China, *if* Chinese leaders behaved "rationally." However, even a Chinese capability to inflict minimum nuclear destruction on the United States or on important Asian nations might deter the United States sufficiently to permit a broader range of aggressive options for China than may seem to exist now. Such a capability would certainly put considerable pressure on other Asian governments.

What, then, are the chances that China might produce such a force? Without examining the subject in detail, it seems clear that China has the scientific, technological and industrial capability to produce nuclear weapons that can threaten her neighbors, U.S. property and other interests in Asia, and eventually the United States itself. These threats can be posed in the near future, regionally by bombers and medium or intermediate range ballistic missiles, transoceanically by sea-launched missiles and perhaps by intercontinental-range ballistic missiles, or by less "conventional" means of introducing nuclear explosives to the U.S.

Variously official U.S. estimates predict an operational Chinese medium to intermediate range ballistic missile capability in the immediate future and an initial operational capability in ICBMs in the early 1970s.

One prescient and authoritative statement made shortly after China's first nuclear test deserves attention here. The writer, Professor of Aerospace Propulsion, Princeton University, and formerly editor of the *Journal of the American Rocket Society*, wrote:

> Various sources have been quoted to the effect that the Chinese will not be able to produce military nuclear-tipped rockets for another decade or even a generation. I do not agree. China's resources are adequate for the task. . . In the quality of its technical leadership, China is not a backward country and it should not be confused with the emerging nations of Africa. . . From my contacts with Chinese students, professors and engineers over the past thirty years, I would say that it is a serious underestimate to believe that they cannot plan and execute an efficient research, development and production program for practical missiles, and it is a serious underestimate to believe that they are not already close to their objective.[4]

The potential direct threat is clear. How about the possibly indirect one of proliferation? If the Chinese construct a nuclear force, and use it covertly for political pressure or openly for military advantage, what may be expected of China's "near-nuclear" neighbors? Is it reasonable to expect political leaders to refuse to "go nuclear" when their scientists are close to a weapons test and production capability, and when there is a growing nuclear threat from a neighbor, or when it appears that nuclear weapons are on the way to becoming widespread possessions? Unless the Chinese threat is removed, or mitigated, the United States must expect the major Asian nations gradually to acquiesce to the logic of nuclear deterrence and the demands of popular nationalism.

The threat from China may seem to

3. As Professor Scalapino has suggested, this might be a measure of the *success* of U.S. containment—Chinese actions have been defensive or low-risk because the power of the United States limits them to this. "China must calculate defensively because the United States, and in some degree, the Soviet Union, will not permit her to calculate offensively on any significant scale." Statement of Robert A. Scalapino, *U.S. Policy with Respect to Mainland China*, Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, March, 1966.

4. Professor Martin Summerfield, letter to the *New York Times* (November 8, 1964).

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be minimal in view of the vast superiority in nuclear forces that the United States—and the Soviet Union—will retain for the foreseeable future. While China's nuclear forces will be able to threaten her Asian neighbors and also at least to some degree the United States, the disparity in nuclear strength would seem to limit substantially the rational strategies available to China, and thus perhaps the threat. Thus an appropriate policy for the United States may be one skilfully and unobtrusively augmenting the natural opposition to Chinese imperialism. Should this opposition unite the Soviet Union, India, and Japan with the United States, it would seem to be clearly unreasonable for the Chinese to entertain expansionist aspirations or to underwrite imperialistic adventures with nuclear threats. Under these circumstances assertive disarmament would not be required, and if implemented might be a serious blunder.

On the other hand, what if these powers could not be brought together in timely alliance? Or, what if the Chinese should be unreasonable or mistaken in their strategic judgments? Or, what if the Chinese, in viewing their national interest from their particular context, should conclude that actions which would be dismissed as unreasonable by Americans are in fact the embodiment of reason? In recent history Italy, Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union in regard to Korea and Cuba, were all led by men who erred in their political and military assessments. This, then, is the key, but unanswerable, question. Will the Chinese be moderate and reasonable, as we understand the meaning of the terms?

II

The spectrum of violent Chinese response to an American assertive disarmament strike seems to be limited at this time to unremunerative attacks on neighboring nations. The most likely military responses by the Chinese would be direct military intervention in Vietnam, reopening of a Korean conflict, or increased activity in such countries as Thailand. In fact a principal reason not to strike Chinese nuclear facilities is their value as hostages for good behavior, which—once removed—might lead the Chinese to stepped-up military activity in Asia. Reopening the Korean conflict would be likely to make an explicit enemy of Japan, perhaps prompting Japan to unite with other nations against China, to stop its flow of trade and technical assistance to China, or to embark upon a national nuclear weapons program. In other words, reopening the Korean conflict would be self-defeating.

Direct military intervention in Vietnam would be more likely, but it would not necessarily be easy. On the one hand, as General Samuel Griffith pointed out to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, difficult logistical problems could limit Chinese efforts in Vietnam. For the same reasons Thailand would not seem to be a favorable theater of operations for China.

Of course, the Chinese might be so infuriated over an American strike that they would lash out in any direction. On the other hand, China would have to consider the strength of American forces in Vietnam, the possibility that those forces would commence using nuclear weapons, and also that such intervention might make Chinese cities subject to attack.

While the spectrum of possible Soviet responses to an American strike is substantially greater than China's, conflicting Sino-Soviet interests, the potential threat to the Soviet Union of a Chinese nuclear strike force, and the nature of the Soviet-American nuclear balance suggest that the Soviet responses could be expected to be nonviolent.

The course of the cold war in Iran, Berlin, Korea, Cuba, and now Vietnam, tends to support that part of George Kennan's original thesis which held that the Soviets will not risk the existence of their nation except in the last extremity. Cold war history and the current relationship between China and Russia strongly suggest the Soviets would not risk grave injury by striking at the United States or at NATO Europe in retaliation for the loss of the military facets of the Chinese nuclear facilities. In fact one student of Soviet affairs, Malcolm Mackintosh, has gone so far as to write that he cannot imagine any circumstances which would cause the Soviets to launch their nuclear force against the United States on behalf of the Chinese.

The Sino-Soviet schism is real and deep. It appears to be based upon substantially different perceptions of national interest caused by important cultural, political, and strategic differences. The Soviet Union has apparently even allowed the publication of a book by one of its own scholarly experts on China, Professor M. Ukraintsev, that describes Peking as expansionist-motivated and as a great danger, particularly with nuclear weapons. (Also see the article along the same line in the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta,* "Mao Tse-tung Gazes Upon Five Continents," translated and reprinted in *Atlas,* December 1967.)

Closer China-USSR Relations?

The closest form of retaliation comparable to an American assertive disarmament strike against China would be a strike against the French nuclear forces. Disregarding whatever will be the future commitments of the United States to France, such an act by the Soviets would have to contemplate the threat of President de Gaulle's *force de frappe* which, unlike the current Chinese force, could "tear an arm off." The most vulnerable position manned by Americans against which the Soviets could bring pressure would be West Berlin. However, Soviet aggressive activity there would not restore China's nuclear facilities. It might only serve to stimulate West German appetites for nuclear weapons, to consolidate NATO, and it would certainly involve a dangerous confrontation with the United States.

Would an assertive disarmament strike upon China serve to bring China and the Soviet Union into a closer relationship? A mutual assistance pact exists between China and the Soviet Union. The exact circumstances under which the Soviets might be expected to meet their commitments or the manner in which they might be met are difficult to discern. A strike that kept China nonnuclear in a military sense would seem to be as much in the national interests of the Soviet Union as the United States. While the latter cannot expect the former to assist openly or to sanction publicly a disarming strike, it would be reasonable to expect nothing more than verbal abuse from the Soviets following an American strike. It would be unreasonable for the Soviets to sacrifice the fruits of a rather successful revolution to fulfill the commitment to such a troublesome and potentially dangerous ally.

A face-saving Soviet response to an assertive disarming strike would be a propagandistic attack on the United

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States accompanied by an attempt to brand it an aggressor nation. The obvious arguments in defending their lack of forceful retaliation would be a restatement of the explanation following the withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba in 1962—a reference to their efforts to prevent the peoples of the world from perishing in World War III by the exercise of great restraint. But because of the magnitude of a maximum Soviet response to assertive disarmament, prudence demands that any such strike be made with assurance that the Soviet Union would keep its response within levels deemed tolerable by the United States.

III

There are still other questions to be considered. How would America's NATO allies respond to an assertive disarming strike? Whether or not there is prior consultation, the NATO nations would quite properly be shocked in varying degrees. They do not seem to view the Chinese threat with the same concern that the U.S. and Asian nations do. Yet, no matter how they disagreed with the action, there is little of an immediate and practical nature that they could do in response. After all, their political and strategic requirements would remain the same. Indeed, the desideratum of an assertive disarming strike—prevention of nuclear weapons spread—is an integral part of many important political party programs in West Europe as well as the announced policy of most NATO nations. One consequence for the United States could be fears in West Germany and possibly France that the strike represented a "deal" by the Americans with the Soviets, some future part of which would be denial of nuclear weapons to the Federal Republic and emasculation of the French *force de frappe*. France, in particular, could be expected to deplore and publicly castigate the action, but—what else could France do?

What may be expected from those nations nearing the threshold of military nuclear capabilities? An American assertive disarming strike has no apparent modern precedent. It is almost completely at odds with the American character. As such it might be expected that an American strike would generate both shock and apprehension among states approaching a military nuclear capability. This in itself might have a strong antiproliferatory effect. Moreover, if successful, the strike would remove one of the immediate reasons for the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations concerned about China's nuclear program, and would thus indirectly cause other potential Nth countries to feel less pressure to opt for a weapons program.

Would an assertive disarming strike tarnish the American position as an advocate of international law and the pacific settlement of international disputes? The answer is simply: Yes. This would be a necessary cost of the decision to use force to negate aggressive exploitation of nuclear weapons by the Chinese, and to retard or prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The damage might be mitigated by carefully worded statements making the point that the strike was a unique response to a unique situation not yet covered by international law.

What should be the American response if the Chinese *rebuild* their nuclear facilities, or move nuclear missiles into the centers of their large cities where subsequent attacks would probably mean the heavy loss of Chinese lives? The scenarios suggested by this question could constitute one of the cruelest dilemmas ever to face American decision-makers. There would seem then to be a choice between permitting Chinese nuclear development to proceed unhindered or carrying out another disarming attack, which would be essentially indistinguishable from a counter-population attack.

Recuperation?

Such an attack, with its "city-busting" characteristics, seems undesirable for several reasons, not the least of which is the killing of masses of civilians. The American government is opposed to the aggressive tendencies of Chinese leaders and not to the Chinese people. Such an attack would be expected to cause more severe reactions overseas than if the strike killed few or none. And with major cities partially or completely destroyed, the Chinese might exercise less restraint in their response.

Yet, it is not at all certain that the Chinese could technologically recuperate from the initial disarming strike, at least not for quite a long time. It is the buying of this time, during which immediate problems might be resolved and accommodations accomplished, that would be a principal purpose of the strike.

If the United States refrains from attacking the currently operating Chinese nuclear production facilities, and if it decides to spare nuclear works which may in the future be associated with

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areas of heavy population, there are other facets of the Chinese nuclear establishment which may constitute a lucrative and vulnerable target. There would be the test centers for the Chinese missile development program, i.e. the Chinese equivalents of Cape Kennedy, and Vandenberg and Holloman Air Force Bases. Such sites are less easily shifted to the heart of large population centers.

By initiating assertive disarmament against China would the United States be casting itself in the role of world policeman? In some sense it would. But it should be remembered, whether or not the United States commences assertive disarmament, that it seems privileged or doomed (according to one's point of view) to continue to be involved in many major and some minor disputes about the world. Unless it retreats into some form of isolationism or adopts imperialism, there seems no other role for the most powerful nation in the world than as a counterweight against large-scale aggression, an arbitrator of important disputes, and a dispenser of economic and military assistance.

Unfortunately, the precedents set by an American strike on the Chinese nuclear facilities could carry some unpleasant overtones. For example, the French government, not a signatory to the partial nuclear test-ban treaty, continues to work upon its hydrogen bomb project. Should the United States strike the Chinese facilities, it does not follow that the United States would strike the French test facilities, or the U-235 separation plant at Pierrelatte, France. A number of political, historical, cultural, and pragmatic considerations preclude such actions. Even so, the situation could be awkward.

A similar problem might obtain with other countries which may consider national nuclear forces in the future. What precedent might be established for, say, the Soviet Union *vis-à-vis* Nth nations in such cases?

Following an American disarming strike on China, how would the Soviet Union react to indications that West Germany might obtain nuclear weapons? From the perspective of German-Russian history, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the Soviets would have stronger feelings against German nuclear armament than the United States has against Chinese acquisition of nuclear weapons. This suggests a rather bizarre scenario, in which the Soviets make a bargain with the United States to refrain from responding after an American strike against China if the United States would reciprocate should the Soviets later make a similar strike against West Germany, or a united Germany. Although not impossible, the probability of this scenario actually occurring is not high for several reasons. Among these are the importance of West Germany to Western Europe and the United States, the presence of American troops in West Germany (unless the Mansfield Resolution leads to their withdrawal), and the very widespread presence of nuclear facilities in West Germany which would tend to make of a disarming strike a bloody affair hard to distinguish from a general war strike.

What of other countries that might eventually want nuclear forces (although the assertive disarmament of China might effectively prevent this)? What of Sweden? Is it to be inferred from an American strike against China that traditionally neutral Sweden is to be barred, on pain of a similar strike, from obtaining defensive surface-to-air missiles with nuclear warheads? The same kind of questions may be raised in regard to India, Israel, Japan, and other nations. The answer would seem to be that an attack upon China would not signal a general policy of disarming all Nth nations. The reason is that the threat from China cannot readily be compared with that which would arise from nuclear acquisition by other nations. It should be recalled in this context that discrimination is the essence of foreign policy.

IV

We have dealt with a number of questions, none of them fully answered, which should be considered in any evaluation of assertive disarmament as a suitable policy alternative. Let us now examine specific aspects of assertive disarmament.

First. Planning for an assertive disarming strike against China must include a decision as to which political authority will undertake the action and whether the strike will be acknowledged by the responsible entity. In terms of world opinion, the establishment of useful precedents, and political acceptability in the United States, it would seem best for an assertive disarming strike to be openly made under the authority of the United Nations. This, however, seems too unlikely for serious consideration. A somewhat less desirable form of attack, and one which is equally unrealistic, would be for the strike to be made by a "concert of powers" which were in some sense broadly representative of great and small nations.

It is also doubtful that any current member of the nuclear club, other than the United States, would make the strike. The plausible possibilities all involve American responsibility in varying degrees, but there are several alternatives. There is a type of strike that could be termed the "accident" approach. In this mode the United States would destroy secretly, or cause to be destroyed, the Chinese nuclear facilities in a fashion that would give the appearance of an accident. This might be done by a single clandestine missile strike or by sabotage. The implication which hopefully would be drawn from such an event would be that the Chinese had progressed too far too fast and had paid the price for attempting to gain sophisticated nuclear weaponry with inadequate experience and safety precautions. If in fact the United States could destroy the Chinese facilities in this fashion, much adverse reaction which otherwise might be poured out at America could possibly be avoided. Further, if either domestic or international political pressure were such that the American government could not strike the Chinese facilities openly, the "accident" strike mode would appear particularly attractive.

Three serious objections can be raised to the "accident" approach. First, a host of arguments could be made by those who would contend that this method, not sanctioned by the people, and generally unknown to the Congress, would violate the spirit of representative government if not the letter of the Constitution. Secondarily, many would oppose such a strike on the grounds of international legalism and morality. Lastly, it could be argued that the United States is essentially an open society not well constituted for the successful carrying out of an "accident" type of strike which of necessity would have to be made in secret. Whether this last criticism is valid might well depend upon the number of men and the amount of equipment required.

A related method of destruction

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might be by infiltration and sabotage, for which the U.S. would not necessarily have to admit or disown responsibility. As with other acts of this kind, responsibility could be left ambiguous and unproven. If this could be accomplished effectively, it might be the most desirable method. However, it must be assumed that the Chinese are aware of and on guard against this possibility, and that a successful operation would have to be extensive in scope, well-coordinated in execution, and assisted by good fortune to be successful.

The Alternatives

One other related possibility could be considered—the airlifting of small units of specially trained American or Chinese Nationalist troops to the important nuclear sites to effect destruction through temporary seizure and/or the use of conventional small arms. Technically, it would not be difficult to destroy critical elements of the nuclear and related process with a minimum of collateral damage; e.g., by removing the control rods of the production reactors, or by dynamiting appropriate parts of the isotopic separation and plutonium plants, or the weapons fabrication facilities. Perhaps scientists and technicians could even be kidnaped and airlifted out along with the special forces, thus removing the essential skills without destroying them. Such an operation may be difficult to conceive but not impossible to accomplish. Certainly, the parachuting of Nationalist Chinese guerrillas, who would then be left on their own, is feasible. However, the difficulties involved in such an operation—Chinese air warning and defense systems, the probably heavy protection of the critical facilities, the political fact that this would constitute invasion and a clearer act of war—coupled with the uncertain effectiveness and the unpleasantness of the task would probably make an air or missile bombardment the preferred course of action.

A third possibility would be for the United States to provide the delivery systems and weapons to another nation which would then make the strike. The most likely candidate to carry out such an action would be Free China. The argument for this form of strike would probably be that in this fashion assertive disarmament could be accomplished with less criticism of the United States, and with less danger of Soviet retaliation against the United States. This is highly questionable. Should Taiwan make the strike, or any other nation likely to enter into such an agreement, there would be little doubt as to the American implication in terms of the target information, delivery systems, and possibly the weapons utilized in the strike.

There are at least three substantive arguments against the proxy strike. This form of attack, in which the United States "hired" another nation to handle a tough and unpleasant task, could reinforce the view in Peking that the United States is a "paper tiger." There is the possibility that Nationalist or other crews would run a greater risk of committing errors in making the strike than would the better-trained American crews. Finally, there is the fact that an American as against a Nationalist Chinese operation would at all times be under the authority of the command and control system capped by the President. This could be an important factor should there be late changes in plans.

The last available strike mode would be one in which the United States conducted the attack and clearly accepted responsibility for it. This would mean that American power and prestige would be brought to bear fully against nuclear proliferation and incipient Chinese imperialism.

Second. Another matter is the context in which such action would be taken. The strike could be made in one of two general situations. The first would be a continuation, or escalation, of the Vietnamese struggle, or some other conflict between China and the United States. The other context would be one in which the attack would clearly be perceived as being made solely on its own merits with no relation to a particular military engagement.

Perhaps the best argument for linking a disarming strike to an escalatory confrontation between China and the United States is a political one. Should American public opinion be opposed to the strike, and should the American government feel the strike was imperative, support could possibly be obtained by presenting the strike as a necessary part of achieving success in whatever struggle was at hand. Massive Chinese intervention in Vietnam would constitute a good excuse to exercise a strike.

There is a danger to linking assertive disarmament with the Vietnamese conflict or some other Sino-American confrontation. Should the Chinese or Soviets view the disarming strike as an attempt to escalate some current struggle into general war with China or into a general onslaught on the Communist world, the consequences could be serious.

To Warn or Not to Warn

With regard to Soviet or Chinese over-response or misunderstanding, it may be suggested that the preferred course is to time an assertive disarming strike so that it did not coincide with a Sino-American conflict. In such an unadulterated atmosphere, the United States should have a greater opportunity to persuade all that the strike was not the preliminary to general war. In addition a strike which was divorced from an existing conflict would better emphasize the point that the American strength was being used only to accomplish deproliferation or to bring home the degree of counterproductivity the Chinese could expect from utilizing a nuclear weapons program to support imperialism, and not some sinister goal spawned from American dreams of world conquest.

On the other hand, it is most likely that *some* Chinese action would be necessary to make an assertive disarmament strike "thinkable"—to precipitate such an action. The reader has only to ask himself what Chinese action would be sufficient justification to him for such a strike. Intervention in Vietnam has been mentioned. What about a Chinese nuclear strike on India? What about extremely provocative nuclear blackmail in Asia? What about clear evidence that the Chinese were building a thermonuclear device extremely threatening to the U.S.? What about a Chinese test of a 1,000 MT weapon?

Third. A vexing problem exists with regard to the question of whether warning should be given to the Chinese. One argument against a warning is that the strike should be designed to destroy both production facilities and the personnel responsible for their operation. Two points support this position: first, the loss of personnel as well as of equipment would be a substantially greater setback to the Chinese nuclear weapons program than the loss of

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equipment only. Second, an American strike designed to kill the individuals involved in nuclear weapons production would illustrate in the most graphic form the American determination to prevent China, and possibly other nations, from obtaining a nuclear capability.

A military argument against warning is that should aircraft be used, warning would probably increase American losses to Chinese air defenses. This factor would seem much less important if missiles were used instead of airplanes, but unfortunately, missiles may not always have the accuracy required of an assertive disarming strike, unless nuclear warheads are used. There is also a technical reason for striking without warning. This is that with warning, certain elements of the production facilities as well as fissile material might be removed before the attack, greatly vitiating the effects of the strike. Perhaps even rendering it virtually useless.

How Much Is Enough?

In favor of warning: the moral argument against the taking of life needs no elaboration. A related argument is that by killing the Chinese nuclear scientists and technicians, the United States would be destroying part of the best hope the Chinese have for modernizing their land—the scientific key to progress. Also to be considered is the probable fact that American and foreign reaction should be much less pronounced regarding an attack which destroyed only property as compared with one involving the calculated loss of life.

Fourth. The determination of precisely which segments, or how much, of the Chinese nuclear establishment should be destroyed poses an important technical and a delicate moral question. On the one hand, in order to obtain the greatest degree of assurance that a disarming attack will achieve the maximum success possible, a strike should destroy all important facets of the Chinese nuclear capacity. There is another side to the coin, however.

Nuclear reactors produce as a normal output of their operation, thermal energy and plutonium. The former can be transformed into electrical power which then may be used for a multitude of purposes. Although the Chinese have apparently not done so, preferring to use U-235 instead, plutonium can be fabricated into nuclear weapons, it can be used indirectly in other processes which lead to nuclear weapons, or it can be employed in peaceful applications of nuclear energy. Although the geographical location of the Chinese power reactors can probably be accurately ascertained, the precise determination of exactly what functions are being performed by each Chinese reactor could be difficult in certain instances. In fact the amount of uncertainty concerning the purposes to which a given reactor is being used may be sufficiently high as to support the directing of a disarming strike toward other segments of the Chinese nuclear establishment.

Other segments there certainly are. Perhaps the most tempting one in terms of its vulnerability to an American strike, and its importance to China's nuclear weapons program, has been described by Arnold Kramish of the Rand Corporation. In discussing the source of the U-235 used in China's nuclear explosions, Kramish suggested that there exists a particularly vulnerable and vital link in the production processes which eventually result in nuclear weapons. As he put it:

> Whether it is used in making of weapon-grade U-235 or plutonium, all of Red China's enriched uranium apparently derives from the Lanchow plant. If that is indeed the case, then Red China's entire production of fissionable material depends upon a weak link that is both limited in capacity and vulnerable to attack.[5]

Now if Kramish is correct, and until such time as the Chinese develop additional sources of enriched uranium, or develop bomb materials not derivative of enriched uranium, the plant at Lanchow is a very attractive target for a quick, single, and surgically precise disarming strike—except for one factor. The Lanchow enriched uranium can also be used to fuel nuclear power reactors used to produce commercial electricity. In fact, as Kramish suggests, this probably was the purpose intended for the plant when the Soviet Union assisted in its construction.

There remain other targets the destruction of which would be divorced from the nonmilitary components of the Chinese nuclear operations. As previously suggested, the test facilities for sophisticated delivery systems such as ICBMs and IRBMs might constitute almost pure military targets for a disarming strike.

A possible way to destroy the military, but not the nonmilitary components of the Chinese nuclear establishment may be suggested by examining the American nuclear operations. In the United States there are facilities such as those at Los Alamos, New Mexico and Livermore, California, where the conceptualization and research which must precede weapons are conducted. The actual fabrication of nuclear weapons, or their testing, is the responsibility of other facilities, run by the Albuquerque Operations (ALO) at Sandia Base. Production plants are at Albuquerque; Rocky Flats, Colorado; Pinellas Peninsula, Florida; Miamisburg, Ohio; Burlington, Iowa, and Kansas City, Missouri. The key to carrying out a discriminating strike against the Chinese nuclear works which are used solely for military purposes may be found in the type of conceptionalizing and fabricating facilities in China, probably less widespread than those in the U.S.

Nuclear v. Conventional

Fifth. One of the most important decisions is whether nuclear or conventional weapons would be used in the strike. Technical reasons favoring the use of nuclear weapons seem in opposition to political considerations which generally support the use of high explosives. In purely technical terms, nuclear weapons are more efficient. Use of nuclear weapons would mean that if planes were used far fewer aircraft and crew personnel would be subjected to enemy action. The use of nuclear weapons might also enable the United States to employ missiles instead of planes, which would mean no American crews would be placed in jeopardy and no aircraft would be shot down for subsequent display. Moreover, should the Chinese facilities become protected by steel and concrete, or be buried deep in the ground or rock, only nuclear weapons could offer a realistic hope of destroying them. (This is not to suggest, however, that conventional weapons could not be used effectively to carry out such a strike. Effective conventional strikes might be made by current U.S. Air Force precision bombing techniques, air-to-surface missiles,

5. Arnold Kramish, "The Great Chinese Bomb Puzzle—and a Solution," *Fortune* (June 1966).

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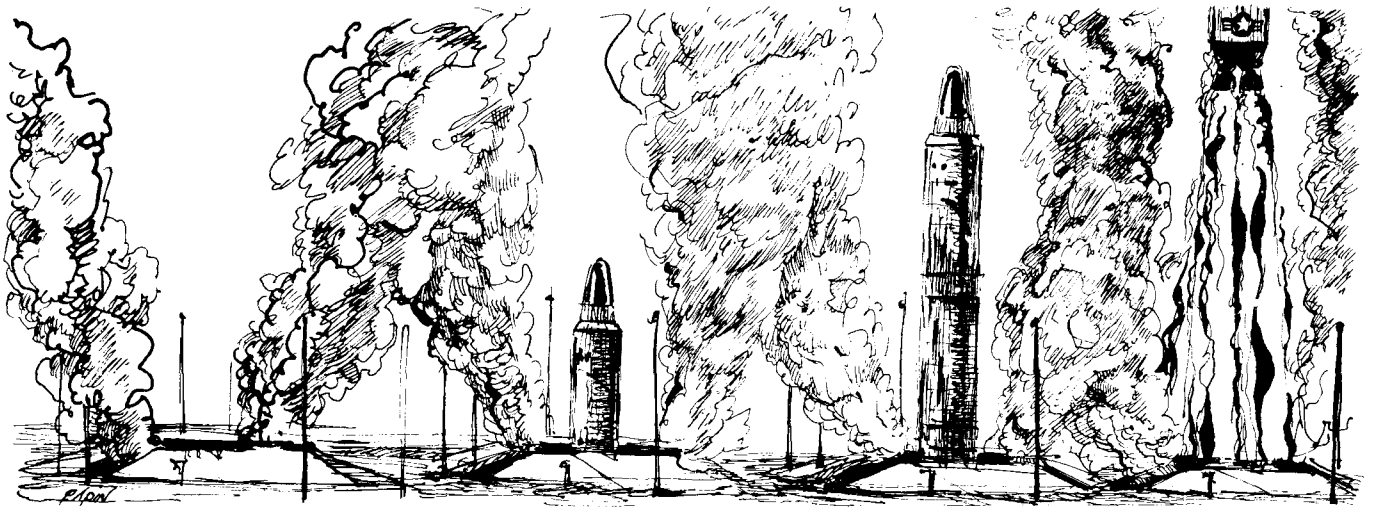

and various incendiary methods.)

Arrayed against the technical logic supporting the use of nuclear weapons are important psychological and political arguments. The precedent against the use of nuclear weapons is now more than 23 years old. Political costs could be incurred should the United States be the first to break the tacit ban after being the first and only nation to use nuclear weapons. And is the United States willing to pay the political price for the second nuclear attack against a nonwhite people?

A different kind of consideration involves the possibility that nuclear weapons use in assertive disarmament would work to blur the well-established distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons. The point here is that actions which tend to conventionalize and legitimize nuclear weapons, as their use could do, might act as an incentive toward their use by the other nuclear powers or might *encourage* proliferation. To prevent the latter is one reason for making the assertive disarming strike. It can be contended that a world in which nuclear weapons use had become conventionalized is a relatively hostile environment for large urbanized societies, like the United States, which offer target complexes unusually suitable for nuclear attacks. On the other hand, military situations could arise when it would be convenient to have the distinction between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons indistinct. If assertive disarmament could be portrayed as a tactical strike in which low-yield tactical nuclear weapons were used efficiently and effectively, a more advantageous distinction among types and uses of nuclear weapons—rather than between conventional and nuclear, per se—would have been established.

Finally, there is the political-moral argument that nuclear weapons should not be used in an assertive disarming strike because of the resultant increase in worldwide radioactive contamination. The magnitude of this problem would depend to a considerable degree upon the type of nuclear weapon used and the manner in which it was detonated.

THERE WAS a time, as described by Winston Churchill, when the Allies could have disarmed Hitler's Germany by a "mere effort of the will." While Europe of the 1930s is in some ways suggestive of the situation in regard to China, two important differences exist between then and now. Today, contrary to the 1930s, the vastly superior military power, and the correlative will to use such power, resides with the United States, not the potential aggressor. In the third decade of the nuclear age, unlike the 1930s, the shadow of general nuclear war is cast everywhere—including Peking.

It is then reasonable to believe that American strength and involvement in major world affairs, plus the always present possibility of thermonuclear war, will induce a degree of caution among those tempted to undertake aggression threatening to American security. However, this sanguine outlook offers no absolute guarantee against "irrationality," miscalculations, accidents, or expansions of initially limited conflicts. Nor against certain "rational" calculated gambles, or the instability that might result from "rational" actions.

We conclude that until assertive disarmament is proved an unacceptable or infeasible option, the United States should take all necessary measures to enable assertive disarmament to be invoked rapidly if that be required. The eruption of the Red Guards is suggestive of the short warning time the United States must learn to expect in regard to other quick and radical events in China, some of which may require a swift response from forces in being and able to operate in accord with previously thought out contingency plans. Certain measures therefore seem in order: the preparation of certain delivery systems, the manufacture or alteration of special weapons, the training of select crews, and the gathering of pertinent reconnaissance information. In the time-frame during which critical segments of the Chinese nuclear forces are vulnerable to an appropriately limited assertive disarming attack, the United States should constantly reevaluate the wisdom of such a strike.[6] The matter will pivot each day on Chinese actions, the effects and implications of these actions, Soviet acquiescence and the other variables discussed above. If it ever appears quite probable that the Chinese actually mean to break out of the natural limits imposed by their lodgment between India, the Soviet Union, and Japan, then American action should be determined by weighting the probable costs of assertive disarmament against the likely price of major war in Asia waged by a nuclear-armed China. □

6. It should be noted that substantial dispersal and hardening of the important Chinese nuclear facilities would raise the political and technical costs of this option to the point of precluding it or rendering it virtually indistinguishable from a large nuclear attack. Thus, the time during which assertive disarmament might be a reasonable option may be limited.

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LETTER FROM CALEDONIA

THE SCOTTISH RISING

COLM BROGAN

THE MOST REMARKABLE development in British politics in the last three or four years has been the sudden upsurge of the Scottish National Party. For a very long time that party labored in a trough. There was a good deal of vaguely nationalist feeling and a more definite commitment in the universities, particularly Glasgow. But when it came to the test of elections the party was a very lame also-ran. The Scots continued for a stodgy Toryism or an even stodgier Socialism, except where the Liberals managed to hang on to a few seats.

All that has suddenly and sensationally changed. For two years the Nationalists have claimed to be the fastest growing political party in Europe, and the claim was justified. The growth has been phenomenal and it goes on. Even the safest Parliamentary seats in Scotland are now vulnerable to their assault.

The reasons for this sudden change in the political scene are a mystery. Scotland has grievances, economic and other, but it always had them, and previously they produced nothing more solid than grumbling. Scotland has her national pride, not to say conceit, that has been wounded by the patronizing incomprehension of the English, but that also is an old story. The sudden springing of nationalism into such menacing life is, in its own way, as surprising as the recent French disturbances. Once the outburst occurred in France all sorts of explanations were offered, but that was all hindsight. Nobody anticipated the outburst.

In High Dudgeon

It is the same with Scottish nationalism but this does not mean, of course, that the hindsight explanations have no validity. The tinder was there all the time, though it is still a mystery why it should have caught fire now and not many years ago. One cause of resentment is a quite crass English sensitivity. A shattering example of English arrogance was provided at the time of the Queen's accession. Postal pillar boxes were engraved "Elizabeth II." This was all very well in England, but in Scotland it was a deadly insult. Elizabeth I was not only not Queen of Scotland, but she chopped the head off the woman who was. Even the most equable Scots, if there are any, were driven to fury, but protests and pleadings were of no avail. As a consequence, two or three young men in Edinburgh were jailed for trying to blow up the pillar boxes. There were ugly rumors at the time that the young men were framed.

The same insensitivity was shown when the Queen visited New Zealand. She read a Queen's Speech to the New Zealand Parliament in which she referred to herself as Queen of England as well as New Zealand. As New Zealand is populated almost exclusively by Scotsmen and sheep, this did not go down well at all, especially, I imagine, in Dunedin. Nobody blamed the Queen for it is well known that in delivering a speech to any Parliament, the Queen reads the words put into her hand. But somebody blundered in a crass way.

There were plenty of warning signs if they had been noticed. The affair of the Coronation Stone was one. As an example of the higher skulduggery, this exploit has few equals and no superior. (The full story has never been told in print.) The outraged Establishment waited for the notabilities of Scotland to condemn the felonious act. They had some reason to expect a favorable response, for the Scottish aristocracy were nearly all educated in English public schools or in Scottish public schools, which are pretty thoroughly anglicized, but they were disappointed. They were answered by a thunderous silence or a muted raspberry. The most unexpected people let it be known that they were highly gratified to think that the spirit of the Border reavers and the raiding Highland chiefs was still alive. After all, stealing things from England has always counted for merit in Scotland. Now, to rub fresh salt in the old wound, Ian Hamilton, the leader of the foray, has publicly returned his passport to express his solidarity with Ian Smith and the white Rhodesians.

There were indeed plenty of warnings of the wrath that was to come, but nobody heeded them. Then quite suddenly party membership rose from 2,000 to 20,000, The bandwagon had begun to roll. From 20,000 it rose to 40,000, and people began to take some notice. It is now 100,000 and the aim is to double that figure. But what really shook the traditional parties was the Hamilton by-election. The Hamilton constituency had been in existence for 49 years, and never once had it faltered in its Labor allegiance. It had had only two members, both of them justly popular. At the previous general election, Tom Fraser polled four votes for every one for his Conservative opponent. Hamilton was an ideological pocket borough, and it was against a massive majority of more then 18,000 that the Scottish Nationalists took the field.

Dark Filly

Their candidate was Mrs. Winifred Ewing, an exceedingly attractive and lively-minded solicitor, refreshingly different from the typical earnest, single-track and humorless female politician. When I heard that she was making an impression in Hamilton I decided to go up to see for myself. Mrs. Ewing drove me to Hamilton from Glasgow in what I think I could fairly call a miniature mini. As I was suffering a little from stiffness in the joints, I had to adopt a foetal position which made conversation rather strained. I told her that I thought she would do well but had no chance of breaking such an entrenched tradition and toppling such a mountainous majority. Mrs. Ewing admitted the size of the odds against her, but plainly thought she was in with a chance. Within two hours of arriving in Hamilton I had to make a far from agonizing reappraisal. The candidate I had considered as one in a hundred outsider, I now considered an odds-on favorite.

I reached this conclusion without the aid of psephology or opinion polls. I simply smelt defeat in the Labor air. The Labor committeeroom was about as lively and attractive as an abandoned pawn shop. The four Nationalist committeerooms were bustling with life. One of them had been formally opened

(Continues on p. 919)

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MR. LIBUTHNOT AND THE NEW BASEBALL

VICTOR GOLD*

"It occurs to me . . . that it is generally overlooked that baseball players, like their counterparts in college and elsewhere, are in rebellion against 'The Establishment.' If there is a lack of communication between students and university authorities, there is an even wider breach between baseball players and those who run the teams. Baseball brass still looks upon players as if they are the same as the turtle-necked rowdy libertines of the 1890s."—Sportswriter Bob Addie, in the Washington Post.

MR. LIBUTHNOT: To be sure, in this *crucial* period of Great Power *confrontation*, we might well reflect that the sports scene is littered with the relics of *obsolete* games that *failed to come to terms*—

Q:—*with the harsh realities of change?* Well, World Series time and if it isn't Chester Libuthnot, the Liberal Cliché Expert. Worried about the future of our national pastime, Mr. L.?

A: *Pastime*, indeed, sports fan! *Long* past time a *cold, impersonal Baseball Establishment* addressed itself meaningfully to the *crisis-in-our-stadia*.

Q: A Senator fan, eh?

A: You're charging the ball there, my *simplistic* friend. The *thrust* of my argument is that an *ever-increasing* number of the finest ballplayers on our finest ball clubs have become *unreachable* through the *familiar premises* of what a *smug corporate power structure* myopically persists in calling "The Game."

Q: I take it then, you don't root, root, root for the home team?

A: If you allude to my *pluralistic* approach to the problem of the modern diamond, let me quickly respond—albeit in the *outmoded rhetoric* of bygone seasons—you're batting 1000. Committed as I am to the *bold, exhilarating* and *joyous challenge* of the New Baseball, the competitive aspects of the pre-Astrodome era leave me viscerally unmoved.

Q: In other words, as far as you're concerned—

A: *Concerned, aware, involved,* you name it. The *existential* fact remains that team allegiance—at least, as our fathers knew it—is no longer *relevant* to a *complex* twentieth-century ball-park-*inferment*. What's needed today, if you ask me, is nothing less than the immediate *reordering of the priorities and purposes* of both major leagues.

Q: Whew! That sounds like quite a reorder, Mr. L.

A: True, an *entrenched hierarchy* can be expected to yield only *grudgingly* to reform. But yield it must! Witness, if you will, what happened in the Pacific Coast League a few seasons back.

Q: The Free Play Movement?

A: Yes, they've done away with managers and coaches out there, you know. It's all run by Player Council decision.

Q: And it's improved the game?

A: Better than that—it's *defused a po-*

tentially explosive situation by bridging a vast gulf of distrust and misunderstanding between dugout and front office.

Q: I see. But getting back to the major leagues, how would the New Baseball—

A: *Restructure the system*? First, by providing the men who take the field a *participatory*, if not in fact the controlling, voice in the formulation of those vital inning-by-inning decisions that affect their welfare.

Q: Pardon, Mr. L., but I seem to have lost that last remark in the sun. You were saying—

A: Only that we'd *eliminate all the umpires*. Get rid of 'em—though *not*, needless to add, in terms of the *atavistic* outcry that so woefully bespeaks the *violent strain* running throughout American athletic history.

Q: You mean, "Kill the ump"?

A: That's the one. In any event, or raincheck thereto, the New Baseball relegates such *right-field extremism*—along with the *archaic* blue-serged *authority* symbol that makes it possible—to the scrap heap of sports *antiquity*.

Q TIME OUT there a minute, Mr. L. If you don't have any umpires, who'll call the—

A: Balls and strikes? Hits and runs? Fair balls and foul? Come now, sports fan! This isn't a nineteenth-century world of absolutes, you know. To the *alienated* generation that makes up the *restless, churning* bench-and-bullpen of the '68 season, such *arbitrary value judgments* are no longer authentic. They've *outlived their usefulness*. In the *comprehensive spectrum* of New Baseball, balls and strikes are, pardon the expression, OUT.

Q: Along with homers and errors?

A: *Especially* homers and errors.

Q: Then, the New Baseball player isn't looking for a higher batting average or fielding percentage, but rather—

A: *A sense of possibility. A recognition of individuality.* A *dialogue* of *joy* and *hope*. An end to the *follies and cruelties* of the extra-inning night game.

Q: I get it. All he wants is a chance to—

A: *Do his thing!* Exactly. *Estranged* by the rigid demands of an extenuated 162-game schedule—shaken by the decline of Yankee *hegemony* in a world-of-sports-he-never-made — *disillusioned* by the commercial *hypocrisy* of post-Little League competition, the modern baseball player must be *understood* within the *context of his time*. And speaking of time, sports fan, you'll have to excuse me. There's a New Baseball game beginning in ten minutes and I've got to get to the ball park to change into uniform.

Q: Sorry to hold you up, Mr. L., but I had no idea you were scheduled to play.

A: *Play*? Don't be ridiculous. Grandstand liberals *never* play. *All we* do is handle the *concessions*. □

*With a portside tip of the cap to Frank Sullivan & Abner Doubleday.

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HUMANAE VITAE

REFLECTIONS ON THE NEW ENCYCLICAL

WILL HERBERG

THE WORLDWIDE furore coming in the wake of the recent papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*, reiterating the ban on the employment of chemical or mechanical devices for contraception, and (so it would seem) casting doubts on the so-called rhythm method, renders it timely, I think, once again to examine certain aspects of the question. My purpose here is largely expository, but it seems to me that, in the present confused and superheated atmosphere, such a dispassionate examination would not be without merit.

Let us take it for granted, for the sake of argument, although the matter itself is much disputed, that the so-called population explosion, at least in certain Asiatic countries, is a reality, and that it threatens to become more acute as time goes on. But how really relevant is this to our problem? Population, presumably, has to be controlled, but there are a number of ways of controlling population where such control is felt to be necessary: there is, obviously, contraception, there is abortion, and there is infanticide. Of these, infanticide is surely the most efficient and most practical method. Contraception is never too sure; abortion involves a serious, sometimes dangerous, operation; but infanticide—exposing of an unwanted child within, say, a week of its birth—has none of these disadvantages, but has a number of advantages of its own. It is sure, painless (except, perhaps for a passing pang felt by the mother), and it enables the parents or society to select which children, boys or girls, are to be preserved. Moreover, infanticide was practiced, for perhaps a thousand years, by the most civilized people of antiquity, the Greeks. Why, then, do we reject infanticide, for all its efficiency, as a means of population control? Because, and only because, *it runs counter to our moral convictions*. In other words, approval or disapproval of any particular method of population control, including contraception, is basically a *moral*, not primarily a medical or a demographical question. Medical or demographical data can, at best, be no more than material for the moral judgment to work upon. Understood in this way, such data can prove valuable, but they cannot, of themselves, prove decisive. The question of contraception must, ultimately, be judged on other grounds.

Among other irrelevant arguments that might be mentioned in passing is the charge that the papal encyclical will alienate Protestants (the Eastern Orthodox retain the traditional position), and thus endanger "ecumenicity." I have never really understood what ecumenicity is supposed to mean in this context, but if it means that the Roman Catholic Church is to cease to be itself, abandon its traditions and positions, and adopt secularized "liberal" attitudes to please the "others," the so-called "modern world," then I should say that this kind of ecumenicity is a vain and mischievous thing. At any rate, the whole matter is irrelevant here.

The Doctrinal Argument

The Catholic case against contraception—and, remember, until about fifty years ago, all Christians held contraception to be illicit, though on different grounds—is primarily though not entirely based on natural law. Every natural proclivity, it is contended, has its natural end or goal, to which it is ordained, and to which it is to lead. Eating and drinking, for example, have as their primary natural end the sustenance of the body. (Of course, there are important secondary natural ends as well: sociability, conviviality, and the like.) Deliberately and systematically to separate the natural proclivity from its proper end or goal is *contra naturam*, against nature, and therefore illicit. Thus, to eat and drink, and then to induce vomiting in order to begin eating and drinking again, as was the way at many a Roman banquet (the best appointed palaces would have a special facility for this purpose, the vomitorium), strikes us not merely as aesthetically disgusting, but also as objectionable morally. Now, the primary natural end of sexuality (sexual intercourse) is procreation. Deliberately to arrange it so that systematically sexual intercourse is to take place while frustrating procreation is, on these grounds, *contra naturam*, and therefore illicit. This line of argument would appear to be sufficiently cogent, though I think, and as I will indicate, objection might be taken at one point.

The condemnation of contraception emerged explicitly in the struggle of the Church against various forms of Manicheism in the West, first in the fourth and fifth centuries, and then again in the twelfth and thirteenth. For the Manicheans, in all their variety, made it a central dogma that sex, and especially procreation, was a wicked and sinful thing. In reacting against this dreadful heresy, the Church naturally came to teach and to preach most vehemently, the goodness and lawfulness of sex and procreation. This tradition is still strong, and has, for centuries, given life and viability to the natural law argument, which might otherwise perhaps seem so abstract.

But, even in its own terms, the natural law argument may be held to need a certain revision. It may be, and has been contended, that the *primary* natural end of sexuality is not procreation, but the "mutual comfort of husband and wife," that is, the quasi-ontological union of the man and the woman grounded in their organic-sexual union. Procreation would remain an indispensable secondary end, along with other ends, but it would no longer be primary. This position would seem to be fortified by the Biblical account—or one of the Biblical accounts—of creation, according to which the woman is formed to be a "helpmeet" for man since "it is not good for man to be alone" (Gen. 2. 1-23). This account comes along with the injunction, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth. . . ." (Gen. 1.28), which enjoins procreation.

Biblical scholars, Catholic as well as Protestant and Jewish, of course, know this very well. Why, then, has not the Church been persuaded by this line of argument? Partly because it runs counter to St. Thomas' treatment of the subject, and St. Thomas' considered

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opinion, as well as the views of other doctors of the Church, are not lightly to be flouted. But, also, it seems to me —and here I speak without authority to fall back on, but I hope not without plausibility—for a rather different reason. In secular and secular-Protestant circles, the newer teaching about the primary natural end of sexuality is often taken to mean that sex is a *fun-thing*. Everyone, I imagine, understands what I mean by this: it is Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* philosophy and it leads, for example, among other things, to the indubitable, though much exaggerated, phenomenon of wife-swapping and easy, routine divorce. But the Church is most deeply and earnestly committed, among earthly things, to the health, stability, and integrity of marriage and the family. To do anything that could conceivably lend countenance to the degenerate and degrading *Playboy* philosophy would be a gross betrayal; and there seems to be a feeling among many theologians and Church hierarchs that to try to revise the order of the natural ends of sexuality by downgrading procreation, especially at this juncture of Western culture, would do just that. At least, the concern behind this moral argument seems to be exceptionally strong.

The Pastoral Problem

Nevertheless, as far as I can see, this does not conclude the story. I speak with hesitation and subject to correction. But I have a feeling looking back to the precedent of the apparently ironclad ban on usury some centuries ago, that there is still some room for pastoral judgment and the confessor's discretion here as well. *Poenitentia sunt arbitraria,* penalization (for apparent sin) is a matter of judgment: so runs an old maxim guiding confessors. Is it utterly inconceivable that confessors, under circumstances that may easily be imagined, but which it is not for me to spell out, may find it possible to "clear the conscience" of penitents on the matter of contraception? I hardly think so. Such pastoral discretion has been employed on more than one occasion in the history of the Church. "It is the custom of the Church," the great Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) taught toward the end of the eleventh century, "to tolerate some things, to turn a blind eye to others, following the spirit of discretion rather than the rigid letter of the law." This, I should say, is primarily the responsibility of the pastor and confessor, under the eye of the bishop. And, indeed, from what I hear, this kind of discretion is already being exercised, in a perfectly orthodox spirit, under episcopal supervision, in dioceses widely scattered in the Western world.

This position is worlds apart from the manifesto issued a day or two after the encyclical by a group of "87 Catholic theologians" in the United States denouncing the papal stand. This manifesto has, indeed, a few isolated good and right things to say, but they are buried in a morass of *aggiornamento*-liberalism. What strikes one as particularly intolerable is not so much disagreement with the encyclical; the encyclical, though coming with great authority, is after all not a pronouncement of the infallible magisterium. What strikes one as particularly intolerable is the notion that "spouses may responsibly decide [on contraception] according to their [own] consciences"—without so much as a word about the formation of consciences by the Church and the guiding of consciences by pastors and confessors! This is the bitter fruit of *aggiornamento*. It may persuade some Catholics to disregard the encyclical, but it can only aggravate the crisis of conscience for many others. □

Good Night, Chet; Good Night, David.

Back then came Chet to his regular seat,
Four years had passed since the Greatest Defeat,
And with him was David, rumored sprung from his rib,
That fabulous team of We Glib and Let Glib.
A little bit older, a bit more grey hair,
A little bit wiser? We must not despair.
For four years had passed, as we said up above:
Time, one might say, for new fallings in love;
Time, one might hope, for new wisdom to flower;
Time, one might think, for one thought-taking hour.
Were some of our judgments of doom and much worse,
A blight on the country, a nightmare, a curse?
A finger poised over the nuclear button,
A brain like a cut of some low-grade mutton . . . ?
Were some of our forecasts a bit overstated,
A little bit skewered, a little bit baited,
A bit, perhaps, biased, really inches from libel,
Using "news," garlic-flavored, as though from the Bible?
We wait for the signs, as the delegates gather:
A new mode of language, a little less lather,
A clear recognition that bugaboos died,
And knee-jerk reactions have been pushed to the side,
Fears, for example, of war escalated,
The fallout so bad that we're all marinated,
Witch-hunts, hooded figures declaiming white purity,
The rug rudely pulled on our Social Security.
And lo and behold, I am happy to tell it!
The change is so great one can practically smell it.
And if Chet still has fears that at heart Dick is pagan,
Not once does he mention dear Helen Gahagan!
And if David has qualms that disturb network bliss,
Not once does he exercise poor Alger Hiss!
And men pass before him: Barry, Ronald, and John,
I can't tell a fib, Chet and David keep on
In manner cherubic, innuendo behind them,
Those "Right-Wing Extremists," they seem not to mind them!
And oh! one should say there is hope for the Seers,
Chet and David grew up, and in only four years!

JOHANNES EFF

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RUSSELL KIRK

PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO STUDY

FROM THE ACADEMY

Back to your demonstrations, students and non-students! After three months' vacation—excepting the Democratic Convention—from social protest, the graduate and undergraduate activists may resume their happy designs for disturbing the peace, with a subsidy from Dad, that reactionary.

Meanwhile, however, Authority in university and college has prepared to dampen the spirits of these bright young things. At Columbia, worst assailed by the student ideologues, a Joint Committee on Disciplinary Affairs (seven students, seven professors, three administrators) makes ready to restrain lawless assemblies. Demonstrations, according to this committee, must not disturb "the scholar in the library or laboratory, the teacher and student in the classroom, the writer at his desk."

Even colleges on the humane scale, as yet little disrupted by any Comus' rout of alienated scholars, have been issuing declarations and sets of regulations intended to dishearten the congenital rebel. The president of Hillsdale College, Dr. J. Donald Phillips, concludes his cautionary statement thus:

"Let it be known that any act of violence or intimidation, any seizing of any portion of property or any unauthorized activity which prevents the normal operations of the college in any way by any individual or group of individuals will be considered in direct opposition to the necessary operation of the college, and action sufficient to the cause will be taken immediately, including the possibility and probability of suspension or expulsion, regardless of the number involved. Similar action will be taken against those who advocate such described activities."

At William and Mary, President Davis Y. Paschall has issued a lengthy "Statement of Rights and Responsibilities," expressing the sound doctrine that every right necessarily is married to a duty. This document's first item under "Student Affairs" is the "Right to Orderly Environment": "Each student has a right to safety in his person and belongings, to privacy in his residence, to freedom from offensive, riotous, unruly, or disruptive conduct on the part of others, and to the maintenance of an atmosphere conducive to study." Correspondingly, "The student has the responsibility to respect the person and property of others, to refrain from offensive or disorderly conduct, and to maintain his living quarters in a safe and sanitary condition. In accordance with the regulations of the College, the student will not entertain or receive guests of the opposite sex in his or her room."

WELL! CONFRONTED by a trifle of non-permissiveness on the part of college administrators, the vast majority of students probably will settle down to books this autumn. Just as the predicted racial riots of the summer did not take on flesh (with a few exceptions), so the predicted student disorders probably will assume no ominous proportions this autumn. For one thing, most students have grown bored with little knots of ideologues; and study now seems a stronger affirmation of individuality than does joining the mob.

For that matter, the actual number of anarchic demonstrators always was small—the real activists, I mean. Nowhere, indeed, except perhaps in Paris, have the student revolutionaries enjoyed a genuine mass following. Mr. Peter Witonski, who was studying—or trying to study—at Oxford during the disturbances there, gives me this account of the bullying of the proctors:

"Had it not been for the fantastic publicity given to the Oxford New Leftists (most of whom, as Max Beloff pointed out, came from Ruskin College, which is not part of the university, and so not subject to proctorial regulations) the demonstration would have been written off as a non-event. In fact there were no more than thirty demonstrators taking part in the whole affair; the bulk of the crowd was composed of onlookers like myself—since it was a bank holiday and the libraries were all closed, there were many onlookers. While the proctors' decision to give in to this minority was foolish in the extreme, the decision of newspaper editors round the world to plaster the demonstration all over their front pages was downright malicious, in that it has tended to create the false impression that the New Left is making the kind of progress at Oxford that it has at Paris and Columbia and the London School of Economics."

Yet mischief has been done. As Mr. Witonski continues, "I think it could be safely said that the New Left is largely the creation of an irresponsible press, bent on turning petty dictators like Mark Rudd and Cohen-Bendit into major forces. The Oxford 'demonstration' simply does not deserve the kind of publicity it has received. If the press ignored it and its leaders, Oxford would be a better place today. Now, thanks to all the publicity, a genuine New Left is beginning to emerge at Oxford, and with it will come, I fear, the end of Oxford as a truly great university."

Similar misgivings now assail various professors who formerly saw few enemies to the Left; indeed, the student radicals may succeed in converting college faculties to the principles of Edmund Burke, who said that one of the chief rights of man in society is this: the right to be restrained from indulging his own misguided passions.

The fundamental academic freedom is the freedom to acquire a genuine intellectual discipline. The fiercest enemy of academic freedom is the intolerant and ignorant ideologue—even if that fanatic pays student fees. By reminding us of this truth, the student mobs have done the higher learning a service they never intended. □

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The Limits of Dissent

Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience
By Abe Fortas
World, $4.00

HARRY V. JAFFA

It is hardly necessary to say that civil disorder is one of the massive problems of American life today. But the tide of violence now threatening us is not something new. In 1838 Abraham Lincoln warned against "the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passion, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice." The overthrow of our free institutions, Lincoln believed, would never come from foreign aggression, but it might come from internal causes: from the "lawless in spirit" on the one hand who, having "ever regarded Government as their deadliest bane . . . make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations"; and, on the other hand, from the loss of confidence in the government by those who are "good men . . . who love tranquillity, who desire to abide by the laws, and enjoy their benefits . . . [but who] seeing their property destroyed; their families insulted, and their lives endangered . . . become tired of, and disgusted with, a government that offers them no protection. . . ."

No sophistication is needed to apply the foregoing to some of the main political currents in this election year. Nor is much knowledge of history needed to be aware that the principal cause of lawlessness in the United States has always been the tension generated by the demands of equality in the presence of racial difference. Lincoln's Lyceum speech of 1838 was a response to the violence then sweeping the country because of abolitionist agitation, and the reaction to it, both in the North and the South. And Lincoln's judgment that the lawless agitation of this question, both by the abolitionists and the defenders of slavery, might rend the country asunder, was a clear prophecy of the Civil War. We are today in the midst of a social revolution perhaps as great as that beginning in the days of Lincoln's youth. The disruption of American life by the American Negro's transition from slavery to legal freedom may prove to be no greater than that caused by his transition from legal freedom to political and social equality. Whether this transition can be accomplished with less destructiveness than that Lincoln vainly prophesied against remains to be seen.

MR. JUSTICE FORTAS has written a homily on obedience to law in a great tradition, and he has done so at a moment when such a writing is sorely needed. Much of the violence today is rooted in social facts which no exhortations, however wise, can exorcise. Yet a good deal of the violence comes from university campuses—where indeed much of the protest now is concentrated—and among the leadership of these movements there is a respected opinion that respect for law should not restrain those who feel grievances very deeply, or who believe that their consciences have been outraged by the policies of government. It is to such opinion, and those who hold it, that Justice Fortas' essay is directed.

The Justice begins with a paradox. On the one hand, he says, he is a man of the law, committed to the principle of obedience to law. Yet had he lived in Hitler's Germany, or had he been a Negro living in the Jim Crow South of this country, he hopes he would have had the courage to disobey the racial laws in force in those places. And so he finds that there is, in the abstract, a duty both to obey and to disobey law; and he asks, is there some principle which a man of principle can follow, by which he can decide which duty is paramount at a given time? His answer, which is marked by power and simplicity, is as follows: In a regime like ours, where protest and dissent are not merely tolerated by the law, but protected by the law, and recognized as essential to the "form of life" enshrined in the law, the presumption in favor of obedience to law is overwhelming, and is subject only to the narrowest exception.

Before proceeding to the exception, let us note that it is no exception to the right of protest and dissent that the right must itself be exercised in accordance with law. Freedom of speech, Mr. Fortas painstakingly explains, does not include the right falsely to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater—taking the famous example of Mr. Justice Holmes. This is true even if the person so shouting has the highest possible motives. "He may have been alarmed and outraged by the lack of proper regulations to deal with fires in public places. He may have exhausted all other means to bring about reform. He may have shouted 'Fire' in the crowded theater only after all other measures failed, and only to dramatize the need and to secure necessary governmental action in the public interest." But this is no excuse for the injury he may do others by unlawfully shouting "Fire." As long as he could call public meetings at convenient times and places, and address them freely, he may not endanger public safety in the name of his right to protest.

Moreover, the fact of his failure to persuade others cannot be taken as evidence of insufficient freedom to protest, and he may not attempt to gain by coercion what he failed to gain by a lawful exercise of his freedom. Nor may the dissenter assume that his convenience as to times and places for protest meetings always takes precedence over the convenience of others. That there is *a* presumption in his favor is necessary to prevent the convenience of the majority from becoming a pretext for discouraging the minority from exercising its rights. But there can be no *absolute* presumption. Business need not come to a standstill every time and for as long as someone decides that he wishes to stage a parade or hold a mass meeting in the center of town. "Dissent and dissenters have no monopoly of freedom. They must tolerate opposition." To which should be added: they must tolerate indifference, something usually much harder to bear. "They must accept dissent from their dissent. And they must give it the respect and latitude which they claim for themselves."

The one clear exception to the general rule that one should, in a regime of law, obey the law, arises in those cases in which it is uncertain what the law really is. Jus-

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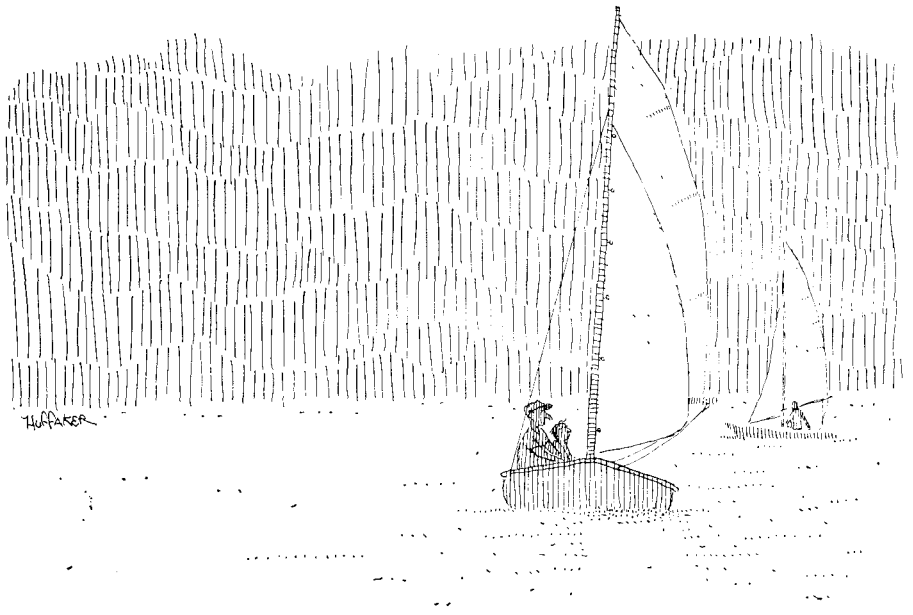

tice Fortas is emphatic to the last degree in his insistence that we are all, citizens and officials alike, from the President to the local police officer, under the law. Whether an act is authorized by law, above all by the law of the Constitution, may be tested in the courts, and finally in the Supreme Court. Yet to make such a test it is sometimes necessary to disobey the law in question. It was by disobeying the Jim Crow laws that those objecting to them were able to have their constitutionality brought before the Supreme Court, and thus to have them declared invalid. But suppose you lose your case? Then, says Justice Fortas, you pay the forfeit. There is no alternative, if the rule of law is to be preserved; if, that is, courts, and not those who make and enforce the law, are to decide what the law is.

As to laws which one believes to be morally objectionable even if constitutional —and this is the position of some Vietnam protestors—Justice Fortas concedes that civil disobedience may be morally justified *if*, but only if, the disobeyer accepts his punishment without complaint. As to the draft-card burners who regard their actions as "symbolic speech" protected by the First Amendment, the only legitimate question, says the Judge, is whether the law forbidding the destruction of the cards is constitutional. If it is, then the card-burners should be punished. Objectors, he says, "should even admit the correctness of the state's action in seeking to enforce its laws, and . . . should acquiesce in the ultimate judgment of the courts. For after all, each of us is a member of an organized society. Each of us benefits from its existence and its order. And each of us must be ready, like Socrates, to accept the verdict of its institutions if we violate their mandate and our challenge is not vindicated."

The analogy of disobedience to an immoral law under a Nazi, or other totalitarian regime, does not apply. The objector to the Vietnam war can speak, write, and demonstrate to the limits of his powers with entire impunity. "I say, with confidence," writes Mr. Fortas, "that nowhere in the world—at no time in history—has freedom to dissent and to oppose governmental action been more broadly safeguarded than in the United States of America, today." But there can be no meaningful dissent in a state of anarchy, and the very safeguarding of dissent depends upon the rule of law. It is for this reason that disobedience to law, in a regime of law, except for the purposes above specified, and in the manner specified, is utterly immoral.

Justice Fortas is also critical of the unlawful actions which some have justified because of their alleged service to the cause of greater racial justice. The Negro cause could never have progressed as it has were it not for the sanctuary for protest and dissent provided by the Constitution; nor could the outlawing of segregation, or the other benefits to Negroes provided by the constructive applications of the Fourteenth Amendment, have been possible, were it not for the subjecting of state and local governments, and local majorities, to the law of the Constitution. For such a cause now to seek its ends by defying the very idea of law, is something the Justice sees as the height of foolhardiness.

Riots produce fear, and fear stills the voice of conscience, which the peaceful protests of the past have so strongly aroused, and which Mr. Fortas thinks is the strongest durable force working among white Americans towards the betterment of the American Negro's condition. For those who say "Freedom now!" or any other slogan implying that the desired transformation in race relations in the United States can be achieved in the immediate—or even near—future, Mr. Justice Fortas has this to say: "At best, it will take generations to repair the ravages of past neglect and oppression of the Negroes. The size of the job to be done, the nature of the rehabilitation to be undertaken, mean that Negroes who are now grown—scarred, embittered, and deprived—will not be restored to full dignity and health. They can expect at best only something of a job, something somewhat better as a home. But they can expect and should demand a better life so far as their children and, especially, their children's children are concerned." Yet in thus counseling moderation as to their immediate demands, Mr. Fortas suggests no diminution either of the zeal or persistence with which the partisans of the movement for racial justice employ the political means provided by the Constitution for advancing their ends.

Nevertheless, he concludes, "the survival of our society as a free, open, democratic community, will be determined not so much by the specific points achieved by the Negroes and the youth-generation as by the procedures—the rules of conduct, the methods, the practices—which survive the confrontations." Mr. Justice Fortas' essay is a powerful tribute to, and an eloquent exhortation in behalf of that American Constitution which indeed is the best "alternative to violence" which the modern world has seen, or is likely ever to see. □

The American Challenge
By J-J. Servan-Schreiber
Atheneum, $6.95

DOING IT THE AMERICAN WAY

DAVID HADDON

There was a time in the postwar period when the motto of Ford Motor Company management became, "Do it the GM way." This policy of outright imitation brought Ford's antiquated managerial and productive facilities up to date. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, editor of *L'Express,* addresses Europe in a similar vein saying, in effect, "Do it the American way or be eliminated from the economic competition."

Confronted by the overwhelming success of American enterprise within the Common Market, he wastes no time criticizing the American challengers, but seeks rather the means of emulating their success. The penalty for failure to meet this challenge will be the elimination of Europe as a zone of advanced civilization, in that social forms as well as economic features will

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then be pioneered by the United States. Europe will have lost what the author considers to be the hallmark of its civilization, the right to self-determination. For the first time in its history, Europe will have been dominated by a more advanced civilization.

Servan-Schreiber maintains an admirable degree of reportorial objectivity through the first two-thirds of the book, devoted to an analysis of the American and European economic situations and the technical aspects of making European industry competitive in its own markets. What emerges is a tribute to the "creative imagination and organizational talent" of American enterprise, along with the fascinating drama of the American incursion into European industry. The final third of the book is devoted to the political aspects of the proposed response to the American challenge.

M. SERVAN-SCHREIBER recommends political unification of the threatened civilization. He would have Europe turn inward upon itself in a political union that, while including England, would be directed away from transatlantic ties. Given past United States failures of will, and our present indecision over Southeast Asia and, indeed, over Berlin, European efforts to constitute a political and economic unit of global capabilities are only logical. That an economically powerful and politically independent Western Europe might stiffen the Western will to survival is a possibility to be considered, even if the spur to the requisite political union is United States economic invasion of Europe rather than the threat of Communist encirclement in the Mideast and Africa.

Europe, in any case, is being overwhelmed economically by a science of management which has remained foreign to her. American familiarity with the mass market, a consequent readiness to operate on a trans-national, Market-wide scale, and the appropriate large dimensions of the American firms involved, have all contributed to the American control of decisive sectors of the European economy. In addition, American management has proved able to change policy and methods with a speed undreamt of by its European competitors. It is this flexibility of management, rather than their greater wealth, that has become the principal advantage of the American concerns. The contrasting European failure to adapt is indicated by their hesitance in adopting a Market-wide statute for incorporation that would encourage formation of enterprises capable of operating on a continental scale. Only American enterprise has acted according to the logic of the Common Market. While European enterprise still hesitates to leave the dubious shelter of the national market, "the heavy units of American industry . . . now roll from Naples to Amsterdam with the ease and speed of the Israeli armor in the Sinai desert."

In addition to this "managerial gap" there is the well-known "technological gap." Servan-Schreiber contends, perhaps with some exaggeration, that American economic power has undergone a qualitative change from its simple predominance of the early postwar period. "American power *over the last ten years* has made a leap forward of an unprecedented amplitude . . . the production of technical innovation has become the central object of economic policy." This revolutionary development has its origin in the productive association of business, government and the university in economic endeavor. In Europe, by contrast, the close relation of these social elements is virtually unknown; they exist in a state of mutual ignorance.

Servan-Schreiber rejects out of hand efforts to limit United States investment and dispels any illusions about the practicability of expropriating enterprises whose primary assets are the intangibles of managerial skill and technical knowledge. For the short term, indeed, he considers American investment beneficial and even indispensable. Given Europe's present technological lag, the introduction of technical skills at the manufacturing level is much superior to the outright importation of products requiring such advanced skills. For the long term, however, acquiescence in United States managerial-technical leadership will result in a state of relative underdevelopment which will prevent Europe's sharing directly in the full fruits of technological innovation, high profits, and rapid economic growth. Only by rising to a competitive level of technical development will Europe be able to join the United States, Japan, and Sweden in the "post-industrial society" of the year 2000. This post-industrial society, as described by the Hudson Institute's report on the year 2000, serves in the scheme of *The American Challenge* as a paradise to be gained or lost. The emphasis placed on this utopia reminds us that the writer is out not merely to describe the world but to change it.

How, then, does Europe change its fate and meet the American challenge? The proposed political union of the Common Market Six and Great Britain would entail an essential minimum of European federalism, preferably administered by an elected federal directorate authorized to make binding decisions on the basis of majority vote. This organ would have the independent fiscal resources necessary to promote massive research programs in the economically crucial areas of aviation, near space, nuclear power, and electronics. It would encourage formation of large industrial aggregations capable of competing on a global scale, and promote the convergence of government, business and the university. In addition to these economically oriented activities, it would encourage American-style generalization of advanced education and its continuing renewal among adults, as well as the modification of social relations in the direction of greater social mobility.

The economic aspects of this program are something less than revolutionary. Such development, indeed, is inherent in the structure of the Common Market itself, which presently stands in danger of being destroyed by the new wave of protectionism unless some such supra-national authority is granted to it. What Servan-Schreiber is attempting to accomplish (with some effectiveness, judging by the unprecedented commercial success of his book in Europe) is to mobilize public opinion behind a program already acceptable to much of the populace, if not to their political leaders.

Finally, it is observed that the basic premises of French and American social and political organization are nearly antithetical. America remains as it was found by de Tocqueville, characterized by a radical confidence in the capability of the individual to manage his personal affairs. This attitude is revealed as the ultimate secret of American success in business management. In France, on the other hand, the most radical suspicion reigns with regard to the individual undirected from above. It is the confident genius of American civilization that Servan-Schreiber commends and the pessimistic genius of French bureaucracy that he condemns. America itself might also note his diagnosis. □

The Biological Time Bomb
By Gordon Rattray Taylor
World, $5.50

SCIENCE AND JOURNALISTIC MYSTIQUE

MICHAEL S. GAZZANIGA

Biology suffers from over-press. There is a mystique to the science that, in a great many instances, reads better than it lives. It is natural enough that man should be compulsively curious about the life process, its mechanism, its hardware. At the same time, however, he must grasp that the theory of the nature of the life process, from a genetic and chemical point of view, is pretty much in. It has been for some time. The incredible advances of molecular biology over the past few years have spelled out in no uncertain terms the nature of the genetic code and its biochemical process. That means, however, that there will be no ideological surprises in the science. →

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Random Notes

■ BOOKS: S. L. A. Marshall has two books coming about Vietnam. *Bird* details a single battle (at Binh Dinh in 1966); *West to Cambodia* is the chronicle of a three-month counter-infiltration campaign (ultimately boggled) by Special Forces units (Cowles, October, $3.95 each). . . . *Long Before Forty* is C. S. Forester's autobiography to age 31, discovered after his death (Little, Brown, $5.95). . . . Next on the smut parade: *Billy and Betty* by Twiggs Jameson, a Bobbsey-Twins-in-Bed sort of thing (Grove, $4.95). . . . And next from Drs. Masters and Johnson is *Human Sexual Inadequacy,* coming in 1970, pant! . . . Fifty pieces written over the past thirty years, many of them previously unpublished, are gathered in William Saroyan's *I Used to Believe I Had Forever, Now I'm Not So Sure* (Cowles, $5.95). . . . David Westheimer *(Von Ryan's Express)* has written another gripper about American prisoners in World War II, *Song of the Young Sentry* (Little, Brown, $6.95). . . . And Pete Hamill, tired of whining up the *New York Post* and down the *Village Voice,* has gone and written a novel: *A Killing for Christ,* in which a trendily tormented young priest falls in with a Jewish Nazi, an American publisher of religious books, and other bizarres, who together plot to assassinate a Pope (World, October, $5.50).

Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Nat Hentoff and Timothy Leary are among contributors to *The Beatles Book,* observations and critiques edited by Edward E. Davis (Cowles, November, $5.95). Also, watch for WFB's article, "How I Discovered that Rock is Here to Stay," coming soon in *SatEvePost.* . . . Frank S. Meyer's next book is *The Conservative Mainstream,* due from Arlington House in January.

■ ON SCREEN: *The Madwoman of Chaillot,* just shot, stars Katharine Hepburn; also Danny Kaye, Yul Brynner, Charles Boyer, Oscar Homolka, Dame Edith Evans. . . . Shooting: *The Great Bank Robbery,* a comedy-Western starring Clint Walker *(Cheyenne)* and Zero Mostel; Paramount's *Paint Your Wagon,* from the musical, with Lee Marvin, Jean Seberg, Clint Eastwood, and Joshua Logan directing. . . . Susan Sontag will direct a politico-erotic film about an American deserter, for a Swedish company. . . . Most of the original cast and the original director will do the screen version of *The Boys in the Band* (suggested new title: *How To Be Gay Though Homosexual*). . . . Ossie Davis is said to be doing a screenplay based on Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age,* for independent producer Paul Leaf. . . . United Artists paid $2 million for film rights to *Fiddler on the Roof.*

George Rattray Taylor would lead one to believe that the biologist is constantly unearthing new ideas, creating new social problems. While *The Biological Time Bomb* succeeds in communicating the recent advances of biology to the totally out-of-touch, its more serious effect will be to perpetuate one of the most unfortunate instances of information breakdown in modern society. With modern man besieged by consuming problems that threaten the entire society, it is simply crazy and irresponsible to draw serious public attention and effort away to pseudo-problems.

ANY FRESHMAN biology student knows (or should know) what current-day biological theory has to say about the life process. He should understand, for example, that the mitotic process means that every cell in his body has all the genetic information necessary to make an adult organism that is identical to himself. Theoretically, therefore, it is no surprise when the biologist finally removes the cell nucleus of an adult organism and transplants it into an unfertilized, enucleated egg and subsequently observes the egg developing into a duplicated copy of the organism from which the nucleus was removed. Unquestionably, as a technological feat, the discovery is breathtaking, but as an intellectual victory, the prize is not so rewarding. This process, known as cloning, has been successfully carried out in both plants and animals. Taylor is worried that the process will be available to man in the not-too-distant future and because of it we will have to remake our social structure and our moral-ethical system.

He is also fashionably worried about the black market in body organs. The success of the heart transplants and the kidney transplants creates the fear of people's being sacrificed in unethical or hasty fashion so that their organs may be used to keep still other people alive. In a similar fashion, he worries about test tube babies, mind control, culturing a brain outside of a body and the rest. Are these events happening? And do they have worrisome implications for modern man? Taylor obviously thinks so and communicates his position in a most readable style, but I remain convinced he worries about the wrong problems.

DARWINISM, Mendelism and DNAism have already had their effect on Western civilization. Taylor wants us to believe that ideas of similar magnitude are being pumped out almost daily by the modern-day biologist. He proposes a biological icebox where the great discoveries of the day would be stored until society prepared itself for their impact. Therein lies a dangerous idea, even when generated for the right reasons. When generated from a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of biological science, it is travesty. What withheld information means is information for the power elite, and at that point one becomes vulnerable to all the passions and insanities of this small group. It is elementary to any student of science and society that withheld information can become dangerous information, that the best situation for the total informational flow of the society is to keep the gates open.

But query: Isn't it a possibility that his whole paradigm is off? Data has been in for years, for example, on questions such as the population explosion and starvation and the existence of abject poverty. Yet, by and large, nothing is done. Could it be that a prior question here is, why is this the case? Ought journalists such as Taylor ask themselves what the news media have contributed in the way of irresponsible reporting, resulting in a no-care attitude on the part of the public?

Taylor, for example, tacks together five or six statements by leading biologists. Each of these statements existing by itself represents that biologist's one extravagant, generalist statement in an otherwise serious, sober paper. Yet, when presented side by side, the net effect is that society is about to blow up—a view at complete odds with each of these men's general views.

Biology has had its day in court. One can't help but wonder, as psychology and the behavioral sciences in general come to the fore, if their discoveries and insights (which to date are at best superficial) will ever get the serious attention of the public. How can a behavioral scientist compete with a headline like "Test Tube Babies"? Yet, it is his area, his discipline which holds the promise of truly dealing with the ills of the world. As Leon Festinger put it, "Whatever the Behavioral Sciences discover, everyone will know it, plus its opposite." □

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The Political Philosophy of Rousseau
By Rodger D. Masters
Princeton, $12.50

Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt
By William H. Blanchard
University of Michigan, $8.50

ROUSSEAU AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF SATIETY

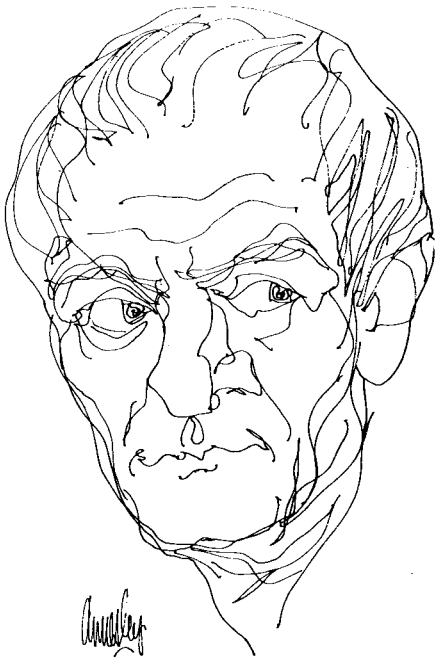
STEPHEN J. TONSOR

Revolution in the Western world has in the present generation taken a novel and a startling turn. Here, revolutions due to deprivation or to alleged deprivation have become a thing of the past. Contemporary revolution is a revolt against satiety. Those who have formed their notions of revolution from the historical experience of the liberal revolutions of the nineteenth century and the Marxist revolutions of the twentieth century find themselves confused and nonplused by the goals of the new revolutionary Left which is appearing in every advanced Western society. Those older revolutionary movements sought more of what society already offered in limited measure and to elect groups. Their demand was for increased rationality, a broader distribution and increased production of material goods, the rights of individuals everywhere to consult their own interests without let or hindrance from the state, and complete freedom of individuals to pursue their political, social and personal objectives. Whether simply meliorist or utopian, the goal was the quantitative and qualitative improvement of the life of man. The great enemy of life was thought to be the curse of too little for too few.

THESE REVOLUTIONS of deprivation were characterized by the sense of yearning and aspiration with which the revolutionaries were filled. Quite generally the aim of the revolutionaries was not the destruction of the culture and the society, but rather its fulfillment and transformation. And to a remarkable degree the Western world has fulfilled or is on the point of fulfilling these aspirations and satisfying these yearnings. What was once an empty chiliastic dream is today a concrete reality. Consequently revolutions based upon feelings of deprivation are no longer possibilities within the Western world.

"Enough is too much!" said the Captain in the Katzenjammer Kids. His disgusted observation is not only a statement of parental revulsion, but it could serve as the manifesto of the New Left revolutionaries. They are revolutionary because their generation chokes on a surfeit of the good things of life. They are a generation for whom freedom has become an unbearable burden; a generation bored by challenge and unable, without increasingly large doses of chemical and political LSD, to face the reality of a satisfied society. They possess neither the discipline nor the inner resources which would enable them to translate abundance into nobility. No doubt they are in quest of the Holy Grail, but for the most part they have rejected the possibility of finding it among the commonplaces of everyday existence and have sought it in the gutters of intoxication and self-indulgence. The quest for abundance and the quest for equality have been replaced by the quest for primitive and intense experience and an antisocial ideal purity. The spiritual father of this latter-day revolution is Rousseau rather than Marx, and the "primitive Communism" which they seek is nothing less than Vico's "barbarism of reflection."

ROUSSEAU'S REBELLION against eighteenth-century French life as lived by the intellectual and cultural elite of enlightened society was, like theirs, a rebellion against satiety. Of course those who become revolutionaries from satiety are not altogether wrong. When society produces abundance without purpose, sensation without adventure, experience without meaning, advantage without honor, and regulation without either a humane or transcendent objective to validate its rules, it invites social



disaster. Those who are forced to live by bread alone develop peculiar vitamin deficiencies which affect their spiritual and social equilibrium. Rousseau lived in such an age and his response to it was a denunciation of rationality and society and a radical quest for purity and virtue. He did not believe that men are evil by choice but that they are corrupted by their society. The mechanics of the loss of innocence and the way Rousseau sought to restore that innocence cannot concern us here. In the present moment Rousseau's importance lies in the fact that he presents in archetypal form the secular prophet who is convinced of man's innate goodness and who is in revolutionary protest against a society in which the intelligentsia suffers from a corrupting prosperity and a loss of the dimension of transcendence.

But not only was Rousseau the spiritual father of those who are in revolt against satiety. He realized, as they realize, that absolute purity and virtue are possible only in what Herbert Marcuse has euphemistically described as an *Erziehungsdiktatur* (an educational dictatorship). In short, virtue must be imposed and the imposition of virtue is the road to power. It is not accidental that the word "power" rather than the word "persuasion" is the favorite word in the vocabulary of the New Left revolutionaries.

ROUSSEAU is more important, then, than Marx in understanding the present discontents of the revolutionary left-wing intellectuals of the Western world. But Rousseau can be understood only if we read him wholly and with knowledge, set against the context of eighteenth-century thought and eighteenth-century society. It is for this reason that Rodger D. Masters' *The Political Philosophy of Rousseau* and William H. Blanchard's *Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt* are invaluable contributions not only to an understanding of Rousseau but to an understanding of the present moment.

Masters' is a model study which illustrates again the kinds of insight and understanding which can be won by a patient and careful reading and explication. Masters presents us with an integral Rousseau. Within the framework of this reading, the seeming contradictions in Rousseau's thought tend to disappear and *Emile* is established as the central document in understanding his philosophy. Masters' book is, without question, the most important single work in English on the subject of Rousseau.

But of the two books, Blanchard's *Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt* is by all odds the more interesting. Blanchard, employing the insights of psychoanalysis, explores the psychological abnormality which gave rise to a philosophy of rebellion and a quest for primitive virtue and purity by Rousseau. It comes as no surprise to those who have read the *Confessions* carefully that Dr. Blanchard reveals Rousseau to have been a latent homosexual and a sado-masochist. Nor is it surprising that Rousseau's paranoiac maladjustments to the world fired both his

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vanity and his will to power and that the quest for innocence and truth were in Rousseau at one and the same time an elaborate self-deception and an act of self-aggrandizement.

HAD DR. BLANCHARD'S analysis of the psycho-dynamics of Rousseau concluded on this note, the study would have been worthwhile enough, but he goes on to make some more exciting observations concerning the elements of aggression and masochism in all liberal programs of reform and revolution and the need for a clear-headed analysis of the sources of all reform efforts. The social reformer, seemingly self-sacrificing and careless of his own advantage, may not be, in fact is not likely to be, so dispassionate and so altruistic as he seems. His mask of goodness may indeed be a weapon in the pursuit of power as in the case of the kindly old lady who was an antivivisectionist and who wanted to "mow down with a machine gun all those cruel doctors who torture helpless little puppy dogs."

Blanchard finds it difficult to distinguish between the fascist and the liberal humanitarian. "Justice which appears so pure," he writes, "so pristine, and so simple in the morning of our political thought, becomes clouded and confused in the oppressive heat of political action; and the underdog, whose wants appeared so reasonable when he was weak is soon clamoring at the gates of power." Dr. Blanchard must recently have attended a faculty meeting at his university or a meeting of the ADA which prompted him to bring this insight to the public's attention.

The poets should have the last word. Robinson Jeffers would say to Rousseau, "the lover of all mankind," and to his recent disciples, what he said in his poem, "Shine Perishing Republic":

And boys, be in nothing so moderate as in love of man,
a clever servant, insufferable master.
There is the trap that catches noblest spirits, that caught
—they say—God, when he walked on earth. □

TELEVISION

WANTED: BLACK JACKIE; ELECTRONIC PIPELINE

C. H. SIMONDS

Having already survived the Year of the Doctors, the Year of the Spies and the Year of the Comic Book Spoofs, television will no doubt survive the Year of the Negro. But will we? So far, to be sure, so good: All three networks have canceled some summer reruns to make way for documentaries that have ranged from mediocre (Harry Belafonte hissing a litany of annoyances on ABC's *Time for Americans*) to very good (Bill Cosby rapping with black fourth-graders about Negro history on CBS' *Of Black America*). There will be more, usually bearable and sometimes interesting.

But documentaries emanate from news departments; come fall, healthy entertainment will get in the act. Along with black second leads and black co-stars, we are about to have our very first black star. General Foods, an old hand at the pablum business, will bring us *Julia,* a series about a Negro nurse who works for a "cranky-but-lovable" (NBC's description, not mine) doctor and has in her sunny-kitchened home an adorable six-year-old son. Her husband is dead in Vietnam, a sacrifice to relevance. Now Julia is to be played by Diahann Carroll, than whom there are few women lovelier or more talented—but hey, NBC, and ho, General Foods, can you really whitewash black America this way? I suppose so—you've been doing it to white America for twenty seasons now. But *should* you?

It will make nervous whites feel comfortable to watch Miss Carroll being Just Like Us, but I suspect blacks are going to hate the show. (A survey at hand indicates that poor urban, i.e., most, Negroes don't much care for *any* family-chuckle-situation-comedy programs—with one very interesting exception: *The Honeymooners,* which is about poor and really not very nice slum dwellers.)

BUT OF COURSE television is *for* white people, not for Negroes; the Kerner Commission made one of its few good points when it accused the industry of "tending to ignore the fact that an appreciable part of the audience is black." All those black interns and black cops and black guys down the block, and now Miss Carroll, are there to soothe whites after the documentaries have tickled up their guilt feelings. How about a series chronicling the struggles of a tough-but-basically-decent black slum kid, or the travails of a welfare mother? How about, quite simply, Negroes with Negroes' problems? Even with the obligatory happy TV endings tacked on, that would be something. It wouldn't sell to the white audience? Television can sell anything. Viewers aren't interested in gritty realism? They are on *The FBI* and *NYPD* and the super-gritty *Dragnet.* It would be Too Daring? Come on—the coming season features a series about a man cavorting about in female attire—in pursuit of a girl, to be sure, but in drag nevertheless. We have had the Negro as just another right guy ever since Bill Cosby in *I Spy*—which is fine and all to the good, but what we need now is the Negro as a Negro.

Things may be changing: On Rowan and Martin's *Laugh-In* last spring, Sammy Davis Jr. was permitted to lope out, grin, roll his eyes and holler, "Don' worry about a thing—Calhoun de lawyuh gone be here in de mawnin'!," and walk off uncensored, unmolested. We laughed, but not the way we used to laugh at Amos 'n' Andy; that the bit was done at all shows how long ago they were.

Maybe someday we will be able, all of us, to sit down and watch a comedy series about a black man who is fat, loud, crude, dumb and beats his wife. Just like Jackie Gleason in *The Honeymooners.* They're ready for it now in Harlem, I suspect, but not in New Rochelle: Next season there is planned a series about a solid, straight-living family man (black) and his boozing, broad-chasing pal (white). It's to be called (this'll kill you) *Buddy and Soul.*

WHILE the networks have been patting themselves for having discovered the American Negro ("only 104 years after the Civil War ended," grumps Marvin Kitman), they have gotten into a private lather over the newest threat to the American Way of Viewing, cable television (CATV). About three million homes have hooked into 1,800 cable systems, to get better reception. Each system picks up broadcast signals with a super-antenna, tunes and amplifies them, and distributes them to subscribers over plain, old-fashioned wires. Which is fine with the broadcasters, or was until cable systems started originating their own programs (the pioneer, I discover, was a CATV operator in Williamsport, Pa., who did nicely with a daily session of closed-circuit bingo). Already the typical cable system offers, in addition to broadcast channels, continuous weather and news reports—by simply focusing a monitor camera on a teletype machine. In small towns, CATV shows community events, Little League ball games, public meetings. In Manhattan, one cable outlet now runs a movie, uninterrupted, each night—plus a "town meeting" show with Borough President Percy Sutton. The going price for not-too-old films is fifty to sixty cents per subscriber.

This, the broadcasters say, will not do. They no doubt envision cable television showing sports events not available to over-the-air television, producing variety shows and dramas (it costs next to nothing to send a program over wires, compared to the cost of putting it on the air), even—horrors—selling advertising.

The Supreme Court this summer gave CATV a boost by ruling that it need not pay royalties for copyright material that it picks out of the air and rebroadcasts. "Unfair competition," howled CBS. The Court then turned around and gave the Federal Communications Commission authority to regulate cable systems. Commissioners come and go at the FCC, and so it is by turns hard and soft on CATV; its

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IS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN REAL TROUBLE?

Yes, says author Joseph Boyle in his now-famous article, "The Catholic Plot against the Catholic Church." The very idea may scandalize you (whether you're Catholic or non-Catholic) but Mr. Boyle makes such a strong case you can't ignore it—or put it down once you've started to read it!

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latest decision allows cable operators in San Diego to offer broadcasts from Los Angeles, but forbids them to sell advertising. No general rule has been formulated; many CATVs sell spot ads, which are especially attractive to small local merchants and to political candidates who would otherwise have to spend thousands and blanket whole metropolitan areas to reach voters in one town or county.

THE OVER-THE-AIR BROADCASTERS are further terrified that CATV may open the door to poor old pay television, by lowering the cost of program origination. So far, the one American pay system, WHTC in Hartford, has been a financial failure (though its operators say they could break even in a larger city where 20,000 or more households would subscribe) but nevertheless instructive: the average subscriber has spent $56 per year for programs, against a national average of $28 per year for admission to all spectator events. Pay television by cable could open up a whole new competitive entertainment market: a cable carrying a choice of twelve programs can be plugged into one of the thirteen channels on a television set.

Besides standard television material, CATV could bring into homes an electronic pipeline offering such wonders as baby-sitting service, connection to central computers, facsimile newspapers and just about anything else that can travel over wires. The number of incoming channels is virtually unlimited—in contrast to over-the-air broadcasting, which allows at the most seven channels in any one area. It may be that cable television, which the networks are trying to kill with one hand, and buying into with the other, will merely increase visual pollution. (Twelve decades after the magnetic telegraph, Maine and Texas still have very little to say to each other.) But the possibilities are attractive: more variety, more choice, less domination by huge networks that feel they must please everybody, better local programming. And maybe fewer commercials. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION: *A Positive Appraisal of the Warren Report, by John Sparrow (Chilmark, $3.95).* The distinguished Warden of All Souls, John Sparrow, has taken for himself a difficult task—defending a report in which many people have some faith, but for which few are willing to venture a kind word. As in similar controversies in which he has been engaged, the Warden has carried the fight to the enemy. While crediting a group of "academic" critics of the Warren Report with good intentions (not a high recommendation), he identifies another and less savory group as "demonologists." The latter, as this little volume demonstrates, have forsaken reasoned argument for a kind of self-serving ranting against the Commission, its methods, its intentions, and its conclusions. This cogent essay, printed in part originally in the *Times Literary Supplement*, deserves the careful study of every American interested in the assassination. As John Sparrow so carefully demonstrates, the most interesting point may have nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of Lee Harvey Oswald; it may be, instead, the psychology of those who have sought without very clear evidence to discredit the Warren Commission and by implication the American system of government. A useful corrective.

R. CRINKLEY

ISRAEL AND WORLD POLITICS: Roots of the Third Arab-Israeli War, *by Theodore Draper (Viking, $5.75).* As an antidote to the continuing propaganda about the Six Days War, Theodore Draper offers a strong dose of good sense. The war of June 1967, Draper shows, was a continuation of the first and second Arab-Israeli wars, but with a new ingredient—the historically antisemitic Soviet Union. True, the Soviet Communists did not undertake a concerted effort to eliminate American interests and influence in the Middle East, by eliminating Israel, until about two years ago. In fact, one of the ironies of the most recent Middle East face-off derives from the Soviet Union's insistence twenty years ago that Palestine be divided to give the Israelis a home. But if Soviet strategy does not change, Soviet tactics do. And Theodore Draper has turned out an excellent analysis of how vicious those tactics are.

R. MACKENZIE

EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE, *by John Kolasky (Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, $3.50).* "There was not; there is not; there can never be such a thing as the Ukrainian language," stormed the Czarist Minister of Education in 1863, as he banned the printing of Ukrainian schoolbooks. A century of Muscovite persecution led to Ukrainian support for the Bolsheviks, who promised constitutional guarantees of national and linguistic equality in a new federation whose members would have the right of secession. As this bitter book by a disillusioned Canadian Communist proves, Communism marked the end of Ukrainian liberty within the USSR. Stalin murdered millions and his successors have revived and intensified the Czarist program of Russian imperialism. Russians form only 54 per cent of the USSR's population; Ukrainians are the largest of the fifteen other major national groupings. Under the Russification program developed by Khrushchev, Ukrainian cultural and linguistic rights have been systematically crushed. Kolasky's superbly documented work rocked the Canadian Communist Party. It is one of the most valuable social analyses of the Soviet Union ever published.

D. G. M. COXE

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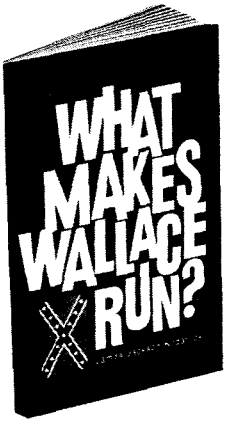
What Makes Wallace Run?



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BROGAN

(Cont. from p. 906)

by Walter McGowan. Young Mr. McGowan's grasp of political theory may possibly be somewhat infirm, but he is one of the two or three best fly-weight boxers in the world. He opened the committeeroom and in return Mrs. Ewing went to support him in an important fight. It is hard to conceive of any Labor candidate who would not shudder at the thought of a two-way traffic between politics and pugilism.

In fact, it was hard to conceive of the Labor Party candidate in Hamilton existing in any meaningful sense whatever. He was a miner named Wilson. He was adopted because Hamilton had always been regarded as a mining constituency. The fact that there was not a single mine on the constituency that had not been closed was apparently considered quite immaterial. Mr. Wilson was adopted because the miners' union paid all the election expenses and guaranteed an annual subsidy to the constituency party. With this support behind it, the local party got off to a start that had all the supple and lithe dynamism of a very rusted deck chair. Mr. Wilson opened his somnambulistic campaign by saying that he did not agree with all the elements of the Labor Government's economic policy. When he was asked to say which elements he disagreed with, he refused to specify, apparently thinking that so personal a question was an intrusion on his privacy.

At first the local Labor Party refused all help from the national headquarters. Why should they need any help in one of the safest constituencies in Britain? They put out election posters and so did the Nationalists. The Nationalist posters were exceptionally original, attractive and offbeat. Labor contributed to the gaiety of the occasion with a poster in very dull colors saying "Vote for Wilson." To a majority, possibly, of the electorate who had never heard of the candidate this must have looked like an invitation to vote for Harold Wilson, and the result was disaster.

The result was a happy event for the Ewing family. Not only had Winifred won the seat with a handsome majority, but her husband, a chartered accountant, had won twelve hundred pounds backing his wife's chances against the odds.

What are the lessons of Hamilton and of the local elections this year which yielded such spectacular gains for the Nationalists? One, Hamilton was a sign of doom for the Scottish Labor Party. Forty years ago, it was the unquestioned leader of the whole British Labor Movement. Even in death, Keir Hardie was a name of magic, and among the living James Maxton and the other Clydesiders pointed to the English Socialists the way that they should go. Today the Scottish Labor Party

(Continues on p. 923)

A SPLIT SECOND IN ETERNITY

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NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON

DELECTATIONS

THE ENCHANTMENT OF DENMARK

DENMARK IS AT its loveliest now. The wheat fields are golden, the pink brick castles with their towers, turrets and moats are wrapped in the shade of their magnificent, century-old parks and the flowers boggle the mind.

I am writing this at the Hotel d'Angleterre in Copenhagen, one of the great hotels of Europe which still caters to its guests in the style to which few of us are accustomed. The Angleterre is part of Denmark's social life. Royal guests, after they've finished their state visits, stay here for the fun of Copenhagen. At one time, when the Emperor of Ethiopia wanted to give a state dinner, which he can give only on his own soil, the hotel for one night became Ethiopian territory. And during the war, the Danish Resistance functioned right under the offices of the German General Staff. To me, the glory of the Angleterre is incorporated in the Porters' Desk. There is nothing that these splendid men don't know or won't do for you, from providing last-minute ballet tickets to functioning virtually as private secretaries. Yes, coming back here is coming home, or rather, to what home should be but never is, for who waits upon one at home?

Scrubbed and Shining Hippies

Apart from Rome, there is no better city to walk in than Copenhagen. Now they have made the main shopping street a mall for pedestrians only, where you will find not only the exquisite Danish silver, furs and porcelain (frequently priced in a thoughtful manner in dollars) but also Denmark's hippies. *They* are healthy and clean, with cheeks scrubbed and hair (both male and female) shining with the gloss of hearty brushing. Even though many of them walk barefoot, their feet are presentable, which perhaps is not surprising seeing how clean are the Danish streets. But what makes them most unlike our own surly breed, the Danish hippies smile and laugh, adding greatly to the gaiety of the scene.

Combining the practical with the beautiful has always struck me as a special Danish trait. I went to stay in an extremely modern hotel on the island of Funen, called Hotel Stavrby Skov, which opened up last year. The place is all long, horizontal lines, on three tiers, with grey wood and fieldstone and black and white woolen upholstery from Greenland's sheep. This exquisite dream of tomorrow has conference rooms for businessmen which are completely windowless so that the lovely view over the waters of the Little Belt will not distract the tycoons. And all over the country, motels are springing up, looking very much like our own.

Copenhagen is not all of Denmark. Jutland, the part attached to the European continent, is the starkest landscape, from the incredibly rough North Sea up at Skagen in the north, to the low-lying marshland in the south, drained by sluices and fenced in by high, grassy dykes, where sheep and cows stand outlined against the evening sky. Funen, in the middle of the country, is completely idyllic, looking somewhat like upstate New York dairy country. The little towns like Faaborg are incredibly picturesque, with either half-timbered, gabled houses or little Empire town houses painted ochre or pale pink or blue and set in gardens. The farm cottages are even more picturesque, if this is possible, all thatched roofs and flowers and dazzling white-washed walls. And the castles of Funen are the most picturesque buildings of them all, turreted, gabled, towered structures of rosy brick that sit surrounded by moats and the most magnificent parks in the world. The variety of Danish castles is immense and well worth a tour. They go all the way from fortresses like Elsinore, where Hamlet never was, to delicious manor houses like Waldemar Slot and its tea pavilion overlooking the sea.

The sea is everywhere in Denmark. The fish is wonderfully fresh, and in the country inns, just caught. I can take or leave the famous Danish open-faced sandwiches, but I cannot help admiring the way they look, like Persian tapestries, no two the same. All the food—the veal, very tender, the pork, equally tender, the beef, less good than our own—is very good and also very rich. As a Danish friend said to me: when a Danish housewife wants to honor a guest, she adds mushrooms and cream to a dish. My own favorites are the tiny Danish shrimp, as large as half the nail of one's little finger, of which several hundred go on a slice of bread, the mushrooms which still have the sweet, wild flavor of the fields and woods, and the potatoes. There are a number of varieties, and they all are incredibly good and impossible to resist. Danish desserts are voluptuous in the extreme, laced with liqueurs, garnished with creams and fruits and mountains of whipped cream. The quantities served overwhelm the foreigner: for instance, a fillet of *plaice meunière* here at the Angleterre (and this is typical) consists of the sauteed fish, mushrooms, onions, cucumbers and tomatoes, and an omelet has diced potatoes, asparagus, tomatoes, bacon, radishes, shrimp and lettuce as garnishes. And everywhere, the food is exquisitely presented. In the Bregninge Kro, a country inn on the island of Taasinge (where Elvira Madigan, who really lived before she was made into a movie, is buried), fried fish fillets were laid on sparkling lettuce leaves and garnished with crisp cucumber salad to make a picture. It struck me especially because only a few weeks before, I had a similar dish at the Côte Basque, one of New York's most overrated luxury restaurants, where it looked most unattractive.

Still a Bargain

Food matters greatly to the Danes, and when they go out to eat they go out to feast, and not to have more homecooked food. Hence the beautifully set tables in the restaurants, the music which is often still live, the waiters' fussing. By the same token, good food in Denmark is found in the good restaurants. There is no bistro-exploring here as in France or Italy. The more presentable a resturant or inn, the better the food will be. Though prices have gone up, luxury food is still a bargain for Americans, costing a little more than half of what it would cost in New York.

As for Danish hospitality, it is great. Though nowadays, with domestic help far harder to come by than in the United States, many Danes will entertain in restaurants rather than at home. But for all who will enjoy Danish hospitality, I have this advice. Always, but always, either bring flowers or have them sent beforehand. This is *de rigueur*, and so is punctuality. When Danes say come at seven, they mean just that. Not abiding by these customs would indeed be insensitive. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

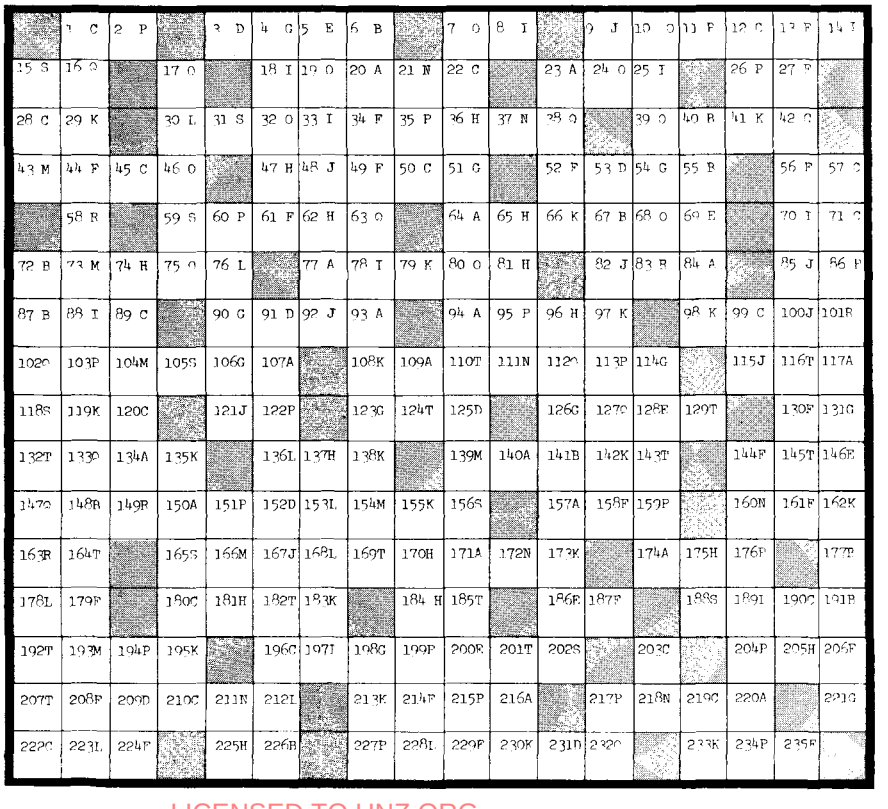
DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. What Joseph S. Clark is (careful!)	117 23 20 93 157 64 84 94 107 140 / 150 171 220 174 77 216 109 134
B. "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all ....."	40 148 191 141 6 55 67 72 87 226 / 177
C. A state, West Germany	50 42 71 89 99 196 203 210 28 180 / 190 219 222 1 12 22 45 120 57
D. An Indian of Idaho, Montana, British Columbia	3 53 152 125 231 209 91
E. Drank	206 128 186 200 146 5 69
F. Congress first met in Washington on this date, 1800	158 27 208 224 52 56 61 130 144 187 / 229 235 13 34 44 49 161 179 214
G. Emmenthaler	54 90 106 114 123 198 221 4 51 126 / 131
H. A degenerative disease of the joints	74 96 47 65 137 181 175 184 81 205 / 170 225 36 62
I. A U. S. publisher	8 14 70 78 88 18 25 33
J. What a Communist might use as a means of transportation	92 115 167 82 121 48 85 100 9
K. A certain political doctrine	97 119 29 135 233 66 79 41 183 195 / 213 230 138 98 142 155 162 173 108

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
L. A confederacy of Iroquoian Indians	136 153 223 212 228 197 76 168 178 189 / 30
M. Any of various tiny aquarium creatures	139 154 43 166 193 104 73
N. The young of a certain jungle animal; add a couple of letters to make a service organization	172 218 21 37 211 160 111
O. Type of activities which concern a certain congressional committee	10 19 24 32 39 46 7 80 17 68
P. An American furniture item having a slant front; 18th-century	204 2 194 215 60 86 95 103 217 227 / 234 26 35 113 122 151 159 176 11 199
Q. A building where company can be put up	38 75 102 147 232 63 127 133 16 112
R. To regard with extreme repugnance	58 101 83 163 149
S. An angler (not a fisherman!)	202 31 165 156 118 59 188 15 105
T. The final sacrament for certain Christians	124 116 132 143 207 110 129 145 164 169 / 192 182 185 201

See page 923 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.



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SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (AUGUST 27)
(Jean Jacques) ROUSSEAU:
THE SOCIAL CONTACT:

When a man renounces his liberty he renounces his essential manhood, his rights, and even his duty as a human being. There is no compensation possible for such complete renunciation. It is incompatible with man's nature, and to deprive him of his free will is to deprive his actions of all moral sanction.

BROGAN

(Cont. from p. 919)

is bankrupt in every respect, not least financially. In Glasgow, the heartland of the party, there are roughly one thousand paid-up constituency members. There are 2,000 paying Communist Party members, and in Hamilton there are more Scottish National members for one constituency than there are Labor Party members for the fifteen constituencies in Glasgow. There is no Labor MP who is a truly national figure, even in Scotland. The party which dominated Scotland for so long is due for a massacre at the next election, which might well be quite soon. All the polls indicate that the Nationalists take four Labor votes for one Conservative vote. If this ratio continues to hold good, the Conservatives may pick up a few seats, but these will be won on a minority vote. The Scottish Conservative Party, I am sorry to say, has become a tedious and irrelevant bore, perhaps not quite so boring as the Labor Party but running it a close second. What the future holds for the Scottish National Party is highly obscure, but at least it has drive and ingenuity and can enlist the eager services of the young. In a confused and confusing scene, one thing alone is certain. As they are at present organized and inspired, there is no future at all for Scottish Labor or Scottish Conservatism. □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

The End of a Dream

Portland, Maine, Aug. 26—Concerning the end of the dream in Czechoslovakia, a few comments: 1) Although there is no pleasure to be taken from the embarrassment of the ideologues of appeasement, it is at least relevant to note that the Soviet Union's intercession in Czechoslovakia blows into pieces the sentimentalist dream of the end of "monolithic Communism." During the years since the showdown in Cuba, the theologians of appeasement have softly whispered at us that there is no such thing as One Communism. A few venturesome students of the world situation repeatedly pointed out that the worldwide undertakings of the Soviet Union were inexplicable other than on the hypothesis that Russia continues to be seized by a redemptist vision of world Communism. The savage assault on Czechoslovakian separatism means one of two things, a) that the economic and geopolitical usefulness of Czechoslovakia is something that Great Russia dares not be without, in which case it can merely be charged that Russia is in the worst tradition of imperialist countries; or b) that the separatist impulses of Czechoslovakia frightened the Soviet Union, which viewed them as a harbinger of the effective dissolution of the Communist ideological enterprise.

Let us assume, 2), that it is the first of these, that Russia is merely imperialist in the sense that, say, Napoleon was, or the Czars. Question: How is it, in an age of anti-imperialism, indeed in an age when the religion of anti-imperialism is primarily preached by the Communists, that the Soviet Union should undertake such a brazen act of imperialism?

3) It remains so that the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, is humorlessly adamant in its purposes. When it chooses to move for strategic reasons, it moves. And before long, the forces of opposition somehow seem to sound tedious, repetitious, irrelevant. It was only a matter of months between the Soviet Union's dispatch of tanks to run over the bodies of students in Budapest, and the promulgation of the Spirit of Camp David by a mollifying American President. Who would dare to say, now, that history will not repeat itself? That Soviet representatives, on the heels of the most flagrant repression of the most modest appeal for freedom in postwar history, will not in due course resume their chummy dialogue with Western progressives, about peace and freedom? You watch.

When the Communists moved on Korea, the English writer Lawrence Durrell wrote from Belgrade to the American writer Henry Miller, "American and British left-wingers arrive in this center of barbarism, comparable only to the darkest of the dark ages, to inform these stinking Communists how decadent we are and how we are about to collapse . . . while our milk-and-water liberal cryptos are havering, and while the European artist is disgracing himself irretrievably by his support for something one hundred times worse than Caligula, at least the goddam old Yankees have woken up with a start to what this really means." You watch.

4) The Czechs will not be saved by the West. One observer already has remarked that it is unlikely that a nation incapable of rescuing the *Pueblo* is capable of rescuing Czechoslovakia. We not only will do nothing, we have virtually promised that we will do nothing. Indeed Mr. James Burnham has perfectly stroked the ironic key by commenting acidly that no doubt the West's response to the end of the dream in Czechoslovakia will be to recommend the bombing of Rhodesia.

Even so, 5), there is hope. Nothing for which the West is responsible. But the quiet revolution in Czechoslovakia which led to the flowering of Dubcek is just possibly something which cannot be dealt with by Stalinist repression. Oh let us not say that too easily. We know that Lidice-type assaults on human freedom do in fact work, and we need go no further back than to Vichy France 25 years ago to remember how docile a people can be in subjugation. Still, there is in Czechoslovakia a spirit which, conjoined with the dilution of ideology not among the leadership of the oppressors, but among the oppressors' executioners, leads to cautious hope. That Moscow, after first imprisoning Dubcek, then allowed him to take part in the negotiations and to return to Prague is an indication of this.

Why did the Soviet Union let it go so far? So fast? Mr. John Dos Passos, a fortnight ago, caught up in the excitement of it all, wondered out loud: "Maybe they can't count on the Red Army to suppress this one?" Thus far "they" have succeeded. Thus far. But it still could be that the forces of liberalization will overtake the rotting absolutism of Communism. In which case it may be, finally, time again to say that God is in His heaven. □

WHERE'S BIAFRA? *New York,* Aug. 10—*I wonder how many* readers will complete the reading of this column? Because it is about . . . Biafra. John Gunther once said that Americans will do absolutely anything for Latin America—except read about it. So it is with many other places, except in moments of flash-flood interest. Along comes Biafra, and the general reaction is, Oh no, not another one of those African things?

Those African things having come frequently into the news over the ten-year period of decolonization. It began with the declaration of Ghana's independence, towards which our diplomats devoted much unctuous optimism. When the gentleman who was designated to lead Ghana to a New Dawn free of imperialism took to beating and imprisoning just any old somebody and his cabinet ministers' wives began ordering solid-gold bathtubs, we sort of lost interest in Ghana.

For a while, the Mau Mau got our attention, and certainly they earned it. But Robert Ruark drew the full benefit of that uprising, and perhaps a little besides; and then old Burning Spear took over and once again, we were back to simply hating South Africa, and standing by to hate Rhodesia. Fortunately, there was that lodestar of stability on which all of us could count, the great Nigerian Federation, presided over by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Not, you understand, that Nigeria was a sleepy-time republic of altogether acquiescent plainsmen freed from the shackles of colonialism. It was a good

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robust democracy. *Time* Magazine's cover story on the prime minister back in the halcyon days recorded the reception given in parliament to the speakers on a typical day: "Each . . . was greeted with cries of 'Heah heah' from his friends, and derisory shouts of 'Sit down, you wretched fool!' from his foes; from the rostrum came the perennial plea for 'Odah! Odah.' "

And of course a very few years later Sir Abubakar Balewa was found dead, his face mutilated, and the reign of terror began, but by this time we had shut out our minds on African problems so long as they did not, as in Rhodesia and South Africa, involve white folks. And that is why so little attention has been given to the horrors of the Biafran secessionist war.

We are right to stay out of that political controversy. Few Americans have any idea of which is the right side and which the wrong side, and those who do make arbitrary commitments. But the point is that the suffering of the Ibo people is on a scale unparalleled since the Communist starvations of the kulaks in the mid-Thirties, and somehow nothing is being done about it. The grisly estimate is that unless we act immediately—within a week or two—one million Biafrans, mostly children, will die. And the rate will continue, at one million per month, for six months.

The American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive has taken full page ads, asking individual American citizens to write to Dean Rusk requesting that the U.S. Government take steps to bring food to Biafra, and to persuade the Nigerian authorities to permit the passage of food through the blockade they are currently maintaining.

But where, pray, is the United Nations? When last heard from, they were in uproar over the execution in Rhodesia by the white government of one depraved murderer duly convicted by an integrated jury: how we did wail and gnash our teeth over that one. Since then, Colonel Benjamin Adekunle, Commander of Nigeria's Army of Invasion, has described relief efforts to Biafra as "misguided humanitarian rubbish." Such food, the colonel argues, will go to soldiers who will prolong the war. "If children must die first, then it is too bad. Just too bad."

Where is the Herbert Hoover of the present situation? One wishes that some of those dogged signature-collectors who want to reduce the suffering in Vietnam, or impose suffering in California on Ronald Reagan, or effect the impeachment of Earl Warren, would use their precious time to organize relief missions for Biafra. "How can I get people interested in my country," a Nigerian attending a Midwestern university once told me, "when they don't even know where it is?" It's hard. But the American people are a very generous people. The problem is to awaken them. Herewith my meager contribution. □

ROY COHN'S BOOK

New York, Aug. 22—A few weeks ago a book appeared by Roy Cohn on Senator Joe McCarthy in which the author contributed his own recollection of what had gone on during the Army-McCarthy hearings and the period immediately before when Cohn served as Chief Counsel for McCarthy's investigating committee. The book is by all accounts a fascinating document. Indeed the editors of *Esquire*, who are not to be confused with McCarthyites, excerpted a large hunk of it and ran a picture of Mr. Cohn on the cover, with a halo 'round his head, to make it absolutely clear that they considered the whole thing something of a joke. Still, it was an interesting editorial decision. It said at least this, that there is a considerable appetite, even now so many years after Senator McCarthy's death, for what the whole business is all about; and that Roy Cohn's book is highly revealing for anyone who has such an appetite.

As indeed it is. This has nothing at all to do with the indisputable fact that Mr. Cohn's book is self-serving. On the other hand, Roy Cohn didn't write the kind of book the critics could most easily have dealt with, namely one which uncritically supported everything McCarthy did or said during the period of their association. Rather, Cohn's book says, in effect, this: 1) McCarthy was a complex man whose movements were frequently disorganized; 2) he was nevertheless up to something, something of considerable national significance and 3) in any case, the contumely to which he was subjected was out of proportion to his offenses. Fair enough, one would think.

Buckley

But oh, how the guardians of the demonology have reacted! One reviewer recalls how McCarthyism hit him in his particular circumstances, causing one "matron" to report him to the FBI as a "security risk" after "I had publicly confessed admiration for Adlai Stevenson"—which may be an argument against silly matrons, but is hardly one against Senator McCarthy or Roy Cohn.

It is, needless to say, unlikely that Mr. Cohn's book will cause what is so long overdue, namely a thoughtful reexamination of the great McCarthy controversy. The result of that, when it comes—and it will, one of these days—will surely establish that the Senator caused more people to make bloody asses of themselves than anybody in the history of the world. People like Robert Hutchins, I mean: who, during the heyday of McCarthyism, gravely reported that such was the reign of terror that it required an act of physical courage to contribute money to Harvard University. Senator McCarthy said some foolish things. But none so foolish as those of his principal detractors.

What makes Roy Cohn's book so very interesting is its confirmation of a basic datum of contemporary America. It is that certain points of view are not publicly tolerated—for fear of ending, as McCarthy did, drunk, invalided, discredited. McCarthy produced, in the opinion of the reviewer for the *New York Times*, "a healthy revulsion against the reckless kind of super-Americanism he represented. He may, indeed, have run the demagogue business into the ground for the next generation or so. At least we have had only a few cardboard imitations of the breed since he passed this way."

I read the situation differently. What has happened, most anxiously in the last two or three years, is a banquet of wanton anti-Americanism—which has come about in part as a result of an over-reaction to McCarthyism. And to this, a reaction in turn is now breeding. The undiluted anti-Americanism of such folk heroes as Benjamin Spock and the pot-set intellectuals is creating a resolute though unverbalized opposition. It is at the moment weak, and I wish that, under its current leadership—it is tightly wound into the George Wallace movement—it would stay weak.

But the impulses to opposition are there, and they are nurtured by those Americans who believe that what McCarthy was all about was the effort to affirm an American consensus which excluded certain things. Certain things as, yes, un-American. The repression of McCarthyism, so brutal, so total, drove these sentiments underground. There they gather, and may well do much more damage than the matron who bullied the poor defenseless writer who confessed an admiration for Adlai Stevenson. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Helpful Hint for Demonstrators: *Guardian* (Aug. 24) listed numbers leftist agitators might call in Chicago last week: One number each for National Mobilization Office, Yippie Headquarters, four numbers for "Legal Defense." . . . ACA took a look at three front-running Democrats—**Humphrey, McCarthy** and **McGovern**—and reported all three together rated eight points out of possible 300 on ACA grading system. (On ADA, COPE listings for 1967-1968, McCarthy is a hemidemisemiquaver to left of McGovern.) . . . **Henry Ford II,** who backed **Johnson** in 1964 when a lot of Republicans did, has made switch to Democratic Party official: he came out for HHH week before the convention. . . . Appropriate setting?—Americans in Britain headed by **Henry Steele Commager** staged last-minute McCarthy fund-raising drive in—the Playboy Club.

■ Republican Senator **Edward Brooke** refusing to go along with attempts to smear **Spiro Agnew** as "racist." On Agnew and the Baltimore riots of last April: "Ted Agnew is certainly not a racist. In my view he's a progressive. The so-called hard line he took in Baltimore does not indicate he's a racist." . . . Suggestions to **Nelson Rockefeller** that he join with **Eugene McCarthy** on a fourth party ticket did not particularly shock Rocky, according to some associates: he turned down the idea because it was too late in the season to mount effective campaign and get on ballot in many states. . . . Idea of fusion also ventilated in influential *Newsday,* by columnist Robert Mayer, who proposes a **McCarthy-Lindsay** ticket. . . . Fun and games: Now Democratic senatorial candidate **Paul O'Dwyer** is accusing **Jacob Javits** of "falsifying his liberal record."

■ California authorities will not place name of Black Panther **Eldridge Cleaver** on Peace and Freedom line as Presidential candidate because Cleaver is only thirty-three: minimum age to be President of course is thirty-five. . . . Balloting on that nomination—it took only one ballot—gave Cleaver 161½, **Dick Gregory** 54, Eugene McCarthy three, and **Benjamin Spock** ½.

■ It's reported that Col. **Boumedienne** will bring up **Tshombe** question when

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"Are you cracked? Take him to Bogotá right away!"

Organization of African Unity meets in Algiers this month: his hope is that some face-saving solution to the problem can be found. . . . It won't be found in United Nations which has refused to do anything about Tshombe's illegal kidnaping although it did, in 1960, formally condemn Israel for its kidnaping of **Adolph Eichmann**. . . . Dr. **Hastings Banda** of Malawi has refused to attend OAU meeting in Algiers—or anywhere else in Arab Africa—as protest against the training of anti-Banda guerrillas by Algeria. . . . More trouble in the Congo where, according to the *Guardian,* a "People's Army of Liberation" has taken the field against the **"Mobutu** puppet regime."

■ Comings and goings, and names in the news: Three Black Panthers trying to travel to Cuba on money drawn from the **Huey Newton** Defense Fund turned back in Mexico City. . . . Also arrested in Mexico City student riots, **Mika Seeger,** daughter of **Pete.** . . . Sweden has refused to give residence permits to two U. S. deserters (**Bill Jones** and **Mark Shapiro**) who recently attended hate-America Communist Youth Festival in Bulgaria, nor would it let in black nationalist and Havana and Peking propagandist **Robert Williams** who reported angrily: "Sweden has refused me permission to speak against and to expose American racism to interested youth there." . . . France has expelled *Guardian* reporter **Schofield Corryell,** a longtime resident of Paris, in general crackdown on native and foreign leftists, and also refused entry to Williams. . . . Among political prisoners from Algerian war **de Gaulle** recently amnestied was Col. **Antoine Argoud,** who was kidnaped by Gaullist agents in Munich in 1963 ("I Was Kidnaped by de Gaulle," *NR,* July 16, 1963). . . . After months of mounting attacks, Chinese authorities reportedly have arrested Communist apologist and pamphleteer **Anna Louise Strong.**

■ Joke going the rounds in Washington following the umpteenth Health, Education and Welfare Department shakeup. Man to secretary: If my boss calls ask him who he is.

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